

UNIVERSITY
OF MICHIGAN

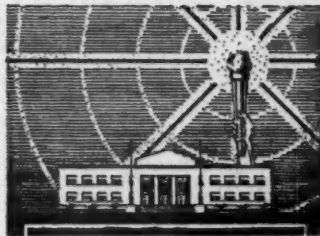
FEB 18 1953

EDUCATION
LIBRARY

THE

SOCIAL STUDIES

FOR TEACHERS AND ADMINISTRATORS



CONTINUING

THE HISTORICAL OUTLOOK

VOLUME XLIV, NUMBER 2

FEBRUARY, 1953

THE PAST THAT LIVES TODAY

*a world history for high school students
by Carl Becker, Sidney Painter, Yu-Shan Han*

With a new organization . . . presenting in a new and powerful way the story of the five great civilizations which are shaping today's history.

With clear, interesting writing . . . that tells the world story with dramatic vividness and insight.

With rich visual aids . . . related maps, summary charts, story maps, pictures . . . that teach as effectively as the printed word.

Silver Burdett

New York, Chicago, Dallas, San Francisco

HISTORICAL FICTION

and other reading references for

**JUNIOR and SENIOR
HIGH SCHOOLS**

By HANNAH LOGASA, University of Chicago

This fifth enlarged and revised edition of Miss Logasa's popular reference book is brought completely up-to-date and now includes a new section on "Our Cultural Heritage and Its Modern Expression."

On each of the several thousand books listed in *Historical Fiction*, the author, title, publisher and publication date is furnished, together with a one-line description, giving the time, place and characters dealt with in the book. Interesting narrative, biographic and source books are also included in this complete list.

Price: \$4.50 a copy, postage extra.

McKinley Publishing Company

809-811 NORTH 19th STREET
PHILADELPHIA 30, PA.

HART - BOLTON SOCIAL STUDIES SERIES

For American History, Problems of Democracy, Civics

48 Colored Wall Maps and Charts

Each 44 x 32 inches

SUSTAINED-USE VISUAL TEACHING and LEARNING AIDS of TESTED VALUE

- | | | |
|---|--|--|
| A 1 World of Columbus | A17 Reconstruction | A33 Presidential Elections, 1880-92 |
| A 2 World of Explorations to 1580 | A18 Statehood and Land Grants | A34 Presidential Elections, 1896-08 |
| A 3 Caribbean Settlement to 1525 | A19 Lines of Transportation | A35 Presidential Elections, 1912-24 |
| A 4 International Rivalries | A20 Resources, Conservation | A36 Slavery, 1776 to 1849 |
| A 5 English Colonial Grants | A21 Industrial United States | A37 Slavery, 1850 to 1865 |
| A 6 Partition of America, 1700, 1763 | A22 Agricultural U. S. | A38 Manhood Suffrage |
| A 7 Colonial Commerce, Industries | A23 U. S. in the Caribbean | A39 Woman Suffrage |
| A 8 Revolutionary War | A24 Greater United States | A40 Liquor Regulations |
| A 9 State Claims and Ratification | A25 Population Density, 1790-1870 | A41 Sources of Immigrants |
| A10 Westward Movement | A26 Population Density, 1880-1910 | A42 Immigration of Various Peoples |
| A11 Louisiana Purchase | A27 Population Density, 1920 | A43 Transportation, Various Periods |
| A12 Territorial Acquisitions | A28 U. S. Land Survey | A44 Power of the Voter |
| A13 Land and Water Routes | A29 Presidential Elections, 1796-20 | A45 Chart of Federal Government |
| A14 Mexican War, Compromise of 1850 | A30 Presidential Elections, 1824-44 | A46 Chart: State and County Govt. |
| A15 Secession, 1860-1861 | A31 Presidential Elections, 1848-60 | A47 Chart: City Government |
| A16 Civil War, 1861-1865 | A32 Presidential Elections, 1864-76 | A48 United States Today |

Available in various types of mountings. Priced as low as \$3.00 per map.

Write for Circular H3c. Mention this journal.

DENOYER-GEPPERT CO., 5235 Ravenswood Ave., CHICAGO 40

N

of
is
n-
re

d
o-
o-
ne
d
ce

y

S

s

I

V

L

LITTLE
West
Col
Canyon
LIAN
Bush
New
THUR
Unive
Philad

A

H

T

D

G

T

T

V

N

B

C

—

T

tic

div

The Social Studies

VOLUME XLIV, NUMBER 2

Continuing The Historical Outlook

FEBRUARY, 1953

LEONARD B. IRWIN, *Editor*

A. E. MCKINLEY, JR., *Managing Editor*

R. T. SOLIS-COHEN, *News and Comment Editor*

DAVID W. HARR, *Book Review Editor*

IRWIN A. ECKHAUSER, *Visual Aids Editor*

EDITORIAL BOARD

ETHEL M. ANDERSON
*West Texas State Teachers
College
Canyon, Tex.*

JAMES J. FLYNN
*Fordham University
New York, N. Y.*

DANIEL C. KNOWLTON
*Cazenovia Junior College
Cazenovia, N. Y.*

EDWIN M. PURINTON
*Maine Central Institute
Pittsfield, Me.*

ELIAN ARONSON
*Bushwick High School
New York, N. Y.*

J. MONTGOMERY GAMBRILL
*Johns Hopkins University
Baltimore, Md.*

ROY F. NICHOLS
*University of Pennsylvania
Philadelphia, Pa.*

HOMER T. ROSENBERGER
*U.S. Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.*

THEODORE C. BINING
*University of Pennsylvania
Philadelphia, Pa.*

BESS HEDGES
*College High School
Bartlesville, Okla.*

CHARLOTTE M. NOTEBOOM
*University of South Dakota
Vermilion, S. D.*

HERBERT WING, JR.
*Dickinson College
Carlisle, Pa.*

THOMAS WOODY
*University of Pennsylvania
Philadelphia, Pa.*

Contents

As the Editor Sees It	42
Historians and American Foreign Policy	<i>Dr. Wilfred W. Black</i> 43
The Morris Proviso	<i>William A. Russ, Jr.</i> 52
Do We Over-Emphasize Current Events?	<i>Dr. Elizabeth H. Pilant</i> 59
General Education in the Social Studies at a Teachers College	<i>Leo J. Alilunas</i> 61
The Curse of the Textbook	<i>John F. Ohles</i> 64
The Teachers' Page	<i>Irwin A. Eckhauser</i> 68
Visual and Other Aids	<i>Hyman M. Boodish</i> 66
News and Comment	<i>R. T. Solis-Cohen</i> 71
Book Reviews and Book Notes	<i>David W. Harr</i> 73
Current Publications Received	80

THE SOCIAL STUDIES does not accept responsibility for the views expressed in articles, reviews, and other contributions which appear in its pages. It provides opportunities for publication of materials which may represent divergent ideas, judgments and opinions.

EDITORIAL AND BUSINESS OFFICE: 809-811 North 19th Street, Philadelphia 30, Pa.
Subscription \$3.50 a year, single numbers 50 cents a copy.

Published monthly, from October to May inclusive, by McKinley Publishing Co., 809-811 North 19th St., Philadelphia, Pa.

Copyright, 1953, McKinley Publishing Co. Entered as second-class matter, October 26, 1909, at Post Office at Philadelphia, Pa., under Act of March 3, 1879

As the Editor Sees It

As 1953 moves into its early months it brings with it the first all-Republican regime in Washington in 20 years. For the first time in two decades a presidential inauguration saw a retiring and an incoming chief executive both appearing in the ceremonies. For our high school students and many college students it has been the first change of national party in their lifetime. It presents an excellent opportunity for them to learn some of the fundamental principles of political science.

The most obvious point is that in a true democratic republic, political change takes place peacefully. Our young people have seen for themselves that even the most deeply-entrenched and powerful political organization in the richest country on earth can be replaced by the people at will, without bloodshed, conspiracies or violence. The machinery for change is always present and always in working order; all that is needed is a sincere desire to operate it.

The second lesson our youngsters can learn is that there always *is* change. In politics as in nature change is inevitable. No human institution or organization is, or can be, perpetual. Everything carries within itself the seeds of its own destruction, and from the moment any social or political group gains the objective it is seeking, its dissolution begins to set in. Any organization, such as a government, which deals in human relations, must eventually lose its place to another, and the more it seeks to perpetuate itself by repressive measures, the more violent must be its downfall. The stability of our system lies not in a resistance to change, but in an acceptance of its inevitability, thereby

making each transition smooth and constructive, rather than painful and destructive.

The third political idea which young America can learn is what may be called progressive change. This is the concept that political change is not simply a pendulum effect, in which opposing theories, parties or systems alternately replace each other, but that each rotation leaves a permanent residue of achievement which the succeeding regime never wholly eradicates. Human civilization has moved forward steadily through recorded time, but only by a sort of reciprocating motion. We see it in history and we see it in our own day. In England, for example, political trends during the past half century have covered a tremendous span from ultra-conservatism to an advanced state socialism. The reaction from the latter position, however, did not carry the British people back to Edwardian economics and imperialism, but only back to a position which the majority felt was a sound middle ground. So it will be in America. The return to power of the Republican Party does not mean a return to the political, economic and social concepts of the 1920's. Much of what the Democrats have sponsored is a permanent addition to our way of life and thinking. In military terms, we are about to "fall back and regroup," before advancing on new ground. This is a natural, normal and healthy social procedure which occurs once or twice every generation, and today's young people are about to go through it. It is our business to explain these basic political principles so that they will realize that these changes are not accidental, catastrophic or a sign of instability, but rather a part of a great human pattern.

The Social Studies

VOLUME XLIV, NUMBER 2

FEBRUARY, 1953

Historians and American Foreign Policy

WILFRED W. BLACK

Grove City College, Grove City, Pennsylvania

In a recent issue of *The Social Studies* there appeared a provocative article entitled, "The Age of Uncertainty." The thesis of Professor J. Salwyn Schapiro, the author, is that

The changes that have taken place within the memory of living men have been so tremendous, so unexpected, and so bewildering as to create widespread uncertainty regarding the present and the future of mankind. . . . Never before has the individual been so secure against the exigencies of life, 'from the cradle to the grave,' by the solicitous care of the state. Yet never before has he lived in a period as insecure as that which began in 1914 and has continued to this day. Fear of war, revolution, and depression haunts every land.

Soliciting a response to that article are such observations as, that Soviet Russia will never abandon totalitarian dictatorship and world revolution, that Russia is always poised for attack, that only fear of America has thus far prevented Russia from launching World War III, and that "like a knight in shining armor" America has appeared as the champion of democracy everywhere. Professor Schapiro's encomiastic remarks apropos President Truman's leadership in matters of foreign policy evoke further reflection. Illustrative of the Truman leadership he cites the North Atlantic Pact, the stationing of armies in Europe, the sending of fleets to guard the Mediterranean, the adoption of peacetime conscription, the abandonment of isolation, the arming of the United States to meet any emergency by creating "situations of strength" on all continents, the granting of aid to friends and former

enemies, and the President's decision to implement with all of America's military power the United Nations' resolution of June 27, 1950, which called upon members to give military aid to South Korea. At this point Professor Schapiro suggests that future historians "may record June 27, 1950, as the 'finest hour' in the long struggle to establish world peace." He concludes with the assertion that

With the passing of the world menace of Soviet Russia will pass the Age of Uncertainty, and a new period of history will begin with a powerful world organization, the United Nations, to guarantee peace among nations. What is now needed most is time, patience, and armament.¹

Such an approach to the Truman-Acheson-Marshall-Bradley foreign policy, popular as it is in many quarters, merits closer examination. Tremendous responsibilities confront teachers of history in an age of uncertainty.

That people throughout the world are living in such an age, there is no doubt, but if one employs perspective he realizes that most ages are eras of uncertainty. Most generations have their prophets of doom who warn of impending disaster. Is the security which many crave the most important goal for humanity? One of the axioms propounded by Arnold J. Toynbee in *A Study of History* is that contentment, complacency, and imperturbation spell the doom of any given culture, and that civilizations, in the sense of ethnic groups, require stimuli to goad them toward greater effort and achievement. This is also a law in the plant and animal kingdom; when living organisms fail to respond to stimuli, they become extinct. Just as

past generations were able to respond to the stimuli of their day, so contemporary civilization can solve the problems which besiege it.

There were centuries when the dominant issue was religion, and many sanguinary wars were fought in its name. After Christianity won a place under the sun, a serious cleavage arose within Latin Christendom, but the Protestant Reformation finally achieved success. Religious antagonisms were carried to colonial America where attempts were made to establish such faiths as Anglicanism and Puritanism. The conflict continued until the principle of separation of state and church was recognized. For the most part, religious differences have been resolved, and denominations are now able to live peaceably side by side. However, during the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries many feared that religious wars would result in the end of civilization.

Similarly, there were generations for whom the most challenging problem was that of political philosophy. Finally, the divine right theory of kings suffered a serious rebuff during the Puritan Revolution of 1649 and the Glorious Revolution of 1688. The American Revolution dealt a further blow against monarchical institutions. Yet there were those who endeavored to forestall the gains made in behalf of democracy. The Congress of Vienna instituted the Metternich System in an effort to preserve the *status quo* after the defeat of Napoleon and the restoration of monarchical institutions. However, the police machinery created at Vienna was unable to suppress the Revolutions of 1848 which swept Europe. Thus, democracy, in the political sense, became a *fait accompli* by the middle of the nineteenth century. Yet, many reactionaries must have feared that democracy would spell the doom of civilization.

Just as religious and political issues were yesterday's major stimuli, so today man is struggling to solve the problems imposed by Marxian socialism. Although the political organization of contemporary Russia merits concern (its totalitarian nature), many contend that the problem is essentially an economic one. Can capitalism and communism coexist? Is not the Russian way of life the very antithesis of the more abundant life as enjoyed by

Americans? Will the world of tomorrow feature a dictatorship of the proletariat? Does the solution presage an eventual "knock-out blow" and the establishment of either a *Pax Americana* or a *Pax Russiana*? Just as Christianity and other religions have been able to coexist, each operating within its own orbit—just as the numerous denominations of Christianity are able to live together in peace—just as democracy has become an accepted way of life in many areas—just as federalism enables the whole and the parts to function side by side, each operating within its respective sphere—so it is that the "knock-out blow" between the United States and Russia is not an intelligent solution. The challenge is a great one and there is reason to believe that contemporary civilization *can* meet it successfully without recourse to brute force. Surely twentieth century civilization has the capacity to respond successfully to the many stimuli imposed by the two ways of life represented by America and Russia. With the application of patience, intelligence, and rationalism the problem does not defy solution.

Today, people are being swept by hysteria and emotion; responsible leaders not only encourage such an atmosphere but politically profit from it. Prophets of doom voice their warnings, and the masses fall in step. Such an atmosphere, highly electrified by patriotism and witch hunts, engenders a mass reaction which has affected educational agencies. Few are those who have the courage to repel social and political pressures; few are those who do their own thinking by analyzing propaganda which bombards them. Many school teachers and college professors have neither the will nor the courage to evaluate the mass-thinking which surrounds them. In numerous places academic freedom is in jeopardy, and many fear to voice that which they inwardly believe is the truth. One hears about the Iron Curtain in Russia, but has it occurred to him that there may be an Iron Curtain in the United States? Many believe what their government, their responsible leaders, and their military chieftains want them to believe. Such an atmosphere is permeating the classroom of the nation's schools and colleges. Pressure groups

like the American Legion, the Daughters of the American Revolution, chambers of commerce, fraternal organizations, civic clubs, and other "keepers of the flame" frequently ostracize teachers or effect their dismissal on the ground that they are engaging in subversive activities. Franklin D. Roosevelt's admonition that "the only thing we have to fear is fear itself" is as timely today as it was in 1933. Teachers hesitate to criticize the Administration's conduct of foreign policy for fear that an agent of the Federal Bureau of Investigation will pay them a visit. Taxpayers approach March fifteenth with fear lest in filing their tax returns they make an error for which they will later be punished. Businessmen live in an atmosphere of fear because they are circumscribed by unparalleled regulations, directives, and restrictions. There is nothing salubrious about an atmosphere of fear, especially when it is exploited by politicians.

Never in the peacetime history of the United States have the military exerted what historians may in the future speak of as such an unwholesome influence. Generals and admirals, having permeated the government, exercise a voice in the highest councils of state. The Department of State and the Department of Defense are as one; to state that liaison exists between the two is to express the relationship mildly. Perhaps even more alarming is the influence which the military are bringing to bear on education. Large sums of money are being spent by the armed forces for research projects in American colleges and universities. During the academic year 1948-49 the Office of Naval Research alone was spending nearly \$20,000,000 on something like five hundred projects in more than one hundred and fifty educational institutions. The scientific life of many colleges is dominated by the armed forces through the medium of grants-in-aid. Often university employees participating in the use of such funds must be cleared by military officials. "The President of Johns Hopkins has also been made chairman of a special committee within the National Military Establishment, further solidifying relationships with that university as a liaison with universities in general." It is only natural that universities

which maintain financial relationships with the armed forces tend to think and act in terms of the military. Numerous schools have instituted a program of direct military training, and again, the implications are great. Military officials and friends of the military have been exerting an untold influence on education in their capacity as administrative heads of colleges and universities. Several outstanding examples are Dwight Eisenhower as President of Columbia, John Mason Kemper as Headmaster of Phillips Academy, Admiral Chester Nimitz as a regent of the University of California, General Frank Keating as a trustee of Ithaca College, and former Secretary of War, Robert Patterson, as a trustee of Union College. From a letter written by General T. J. Hanley, Jr. of the Air Force, to a number of college presidents, one may read,

We believe that, among the people, the collegiate group is of the utmost importance in furthering this task [that of consolidating and training an efficient Air Reserve Force in order to strengthen the security of the United States]. Because the future leaders and molders of opinion are now on your campus, we believe it is imperative that they be sympathetic with and willing to promote our program.

Public schools are equally affected since the armed forces are active there. Junior ROTC units have been established; public high schools for girls in Washington, D. C. have military drill; the misnamed Civil Air Patrol holds ground and preflight cadet training for youths between the ages of fifteen and seventeen; the 1948 registration for Selective Service was, in many cases, conducted in public schools; the armed forces often obtain from school authorities the names of high school graduates for purposes of recruiting; lecturers representing the military frequently address school children; sometimes high school youths are taken on a tour of warships, served refreshments, and permitted to sit in the cockpits of planes. Even the Boy Scouts of America have been brought under the influence of the armed forces.²

In Professor Schapiro's "Age of Uncertainty" Americans are being urged to think alike. There are inherent dangers in such

tactics; where all think alike, nobody thinks very much. It is at this point that one may query, "What are American schools and colleges doing to turn out better citizens?" While many persons are inclined to regard the twentieth century as an industrial and scientific age, probably never in history have the social studies assumed so great an importance. The teacher of history, government, economics, and sociology has seldom been confronted by any greater charge than that of educating students to think for themselves—students who can resist the daily propaganda which bombards them from all sides—students who can discern, evaluate, analyze, and criticize utterances from the press, radio, television, and movie screen. While national unity is desirable during critical times, it must not be at the sacrifice of deliberation. In the final analysis, the problem is an old one—The State: Servant or Master? Disconcerting is the loss by so many Americans of the ability to think for themselves; they find it much easier to follow in the steps of others.

One of the main functions of both education and the social studies is that of training for citizenship. This is the proverbial answer given by teachers when questioned as to their objectives. One of the most important ways of training for citizenship is that of stimulating thought on the part of students. Upon such depends much of the success of democracy. When a citizenry becomes apathetic toward the science of human relationships or when it becomes frightened into suppressing its thoughts, democracy usually gives way to an autocracy or an oligarchy. The teacher of social studies should exercise caution in drawing parallels between contemporary America and Rome following the Augustan Age. Such an approach arouses suspicion and fear on the part of immature students, and it conjures an air of defeatism. The teacher, after presenting a given challenge, should suggest ways in which that challenge can be met. Often the teacher of history is so busy boring students with *minutiae* that he never suggests remedies for the current problems under consideration. Facts are important, and there is no substitute for content. Too many teachers of social studies

are inadequately prepared for teaching this field. Much of the fault lies with teachers' colleges which place undue emphasis on methods, techniques, and pupil activity. Cadet teachers are encumbered with lesson plans, testing techniques, visual aids, and diverse ritual. By the time all the prescribed rites have been performed there is little time remaining for thought-provoking discussion. To this end students can contribute more than they are sometimes credited with.

Essential in the teaching of history is the necessity of maintaining perspective. To illustrate: the "Age of Uncertainty" has witnessed two world wars within one generation, and it is probable that World War III is in the making. Perhaps when the smoke clears, historians will record these conflicts in a chapter entitled, "The Third Hundred Years' War, 1870-1970." In retrospect one witnesses The First Hundred Years' War (1337-1453) between England and France, a conflict which resulted in enormous material and moral injury to both countries as well as the virtual expulsion of England from the Continent. Likewise, The Second Hundred Years' War (1689-1763) was a contest of strength and endurance between the same two powers. So far as the New World was concerned, this series consisted of King William's War (1689-1697), Queen Anne's War (1702-1713), King George's War (1740-1748), and The French and Indian War (1756-1763). From this conflict England emerged as master of North America. Thus, today the world may well be engaged in The Third Hundred Years' War, the stages of which so far have been The Franco-Prussian War, World War I, World War II—and the quest for security continues. After World War I there were eight major powers left; after World War II only two remain. It is altogether possible that World War III will consist of "the knock-out blow" between the United States and Russia. Nevertheless, perspective decrees that civilization will not perish with World War III. If history teaches anything, it teaches that all ages are uncertain. Most generations believe their problems are the greatest, and the present one is no exception. Again page perspective! Few problems

are new; solutions can usually be found within the pages of the past. Again, a sense of perspective should remind one that for every force there is a counter force. For example, fear that the atomic bomb will mean an end of civilization haunts many, but encouraging is the thought that the fear of retaliation may result in the non-employment of this weapon just as in World War II the belligerents did not resort to poisonous gas and chemical warfare. Contrary to public opinion, it may be fortunate that Russia is now manufacturing atom bombs. It is when one power has an exclusive monopoly of a new lethal weapon that civilization is placed in jeopardy. Another illustration of forces and counter forces as applied to history is the Protestant Reformation and the Catholic Counter Reformation. Even the American Revolution had its counter revolution—a revolution within a revolution in which the piedmont challenged tidewater rule. In "The Age of Uncertainty" Professor Schapiro asserts that "man's inhumanity to man reached a new low" in outrages committed during World War II by the Germans and Japanese against prisoners of war and civilians.³ However, a sense of perspective enables one to recall other chapters in history which depict equally heinous crimes.

The teacher of history will find the task of educating students for citizenship easier if he accords a greater role to the utility of history. Many teachers simply dismiss the subject with a statement that history possesses utility because it affords pleasure and enjoyment to those who study it and that it is a valuable aid in helping one to appreciate his heritage from the past. True as this is, still the student has no understanding of the value of history. In discussing the utility of history the teacher can effectively illustrate by discussing the subject of law in history. For example, the law of continuity teaches that history is a never-ending stream of human experience, and while institutions may be modified, they seldom can be destroyed. Repression only drives a movement underground where it gains momentum. So it was with Christianity, and so it is with Communism. The law of impermanence teaches that all things are relative—that

civilizations rise, flourish, and fall—that overspecialization leads to eventual degeneration and collapse. The law of democracy teaches that in the final analysis government must rest upon the consent of the governed; especially comforting should this axiom be to the occidental world today in view of the threat imposed by the totalitarianism of Soviet Russia. The law of moral progress teaches that as generations pass, man becomes more humane, sympathetic, and social-conscious. Testimonials to this law may be seen in the abolition of human slavery as an institution and in the phenomenal improvements that have occurred in penology. The law of interdependence teaches that individuals, tribes, nations, and races have become increasingly more dependent upon each other as the centuries have advanced. Therefore, the student who has studied history with avidity has better reason to believe that Russia and the United States can coexist. Each has products needed by the other, and a mutual exchange of goods and services between the two countries is highly beneficial. Another lesson history teaches is that confederations are seldom successful over a long period. They may serve a useful purpose when the pressure of war is great, but once that pressure is removed, each individual member reasserts its sovereignty. In political science the United States has contributed the concept of federalism, a means of reconciling local autonomy and central authority by allowing each area to operate within its prescribed sphere. Federalism has proved itself in this country and in the British Commonwealth of Nations. Yet, on the international level man has retained the confederate form of organization for nearly five centuries dating from the debut of the nation state about 1500. It works no better today than it did five hundred years ago, and the struggle for the balance of power continues. Each power cherishes its own sovereignty and is loath to relinquish any part of it. One group, the United World Federalists, contend that the major powers of the world must federate if a reasonable degree of security is to be enjoyed by all. Thus, a knowledge of law in history is a useful tool that betokens wisdom and perspective

which are so necessary for an understanding of history in a troubled world.

In addition to evoking such reflections as these, the Schapiro article evoked a questioning mood on the part of this writer. Far too many are those who have accepted unequivocally the Truman foreign policy. Is this policy so popular, or are Americans apathetic, or are they fearful to voice their opposition lest they be called a "red," a "communist," an "isolationist," or a "subversive?" Many a misdeed can be committed in the name of bipartisanship. A tyranny of words has produced a stagnation of the mind, and few have spoken out against the Truman foreign policy. Policy-determining officials in high places of government are utilizing semantics to the greatest possible advantage. A few years ago Stuart Chase made a study of semantics, and some of his observations are appropriate today. Personifying abstractions in America, he wrote,

Here in the center is a vast figure called the Nation—majestic and wrapped in the Flag. When it sternly raises its arm, we are ready to die for it. Close behind rears a sinister shape, the Government. Following it is one even more sinister, Bureaucracy. Both are festooned with the writhing serpents of Red Tape. High in the heavens is the Constitution, a kind of chalice like the Holy Grail, suffused with ethereal light. It must never be joggled. Below floats the Supreme Court, a black-robed priesthood tending the eternal fire. The Supreme Court must be addressed with respect or it will neglect the fire and the Constitution will go out. This is synonymous with the end of the world. Somewhere above the Rocky Mountains are lodged the vast stone tablets of the Law. We are governed not by men but by these tablets. . . . Looming along the coasts are two horrid monsters, with scaly paws outstretched: Fascism and Communism. Confronting them, shield in hand and a little cross-eyed from trying to watch both at once, is the colossal figure of Democracy. Will he fend them off? We wring our hands in supplication, while admonishing the young that governments, especially democratic governments, are incapable of sensible action.

Or—a typical speech by an aspiring Hitler:

The Aryan Fatherland, which has nursed the souls of heroes, calls upon you for the supreme sacrifice which you, in whom flows heroic blood, will not fail, and which will echo forever down the corridors of history.

In the latter quotation from Chase there are words and phrases without discoverable referents registering a semantic blank—noises without meaning. Translated, it might as well read:

The blab blab, which has nursed the blabs of blabs, calls upon you for the blab blab which you, in whom flows blab blood, will not fail, and which will echo blab down the blabs of blab.

The point is well taken. So addicted do people become to exalted phrases that they lose all sense of reality. They are swept away in a current of emotionalism. Mr. Chase points out, for example, that during World War I one patriotic physician objected to placards of quarantine reading, "German Measles." He suggested, instead, "Victory Measles" or "Liberty Measles." Americans are in much the same state of mind today when they succumb to words like "nation," the British "Crown," "un-American," the "Iron Curtain," "socialism," "liberty," "freedom," and "neutrality." Stuart Chase contends, "People are not 'dumb' because they lack mental equipment; they are dumb because they lack an adequate method for the use of that equipment."⁴

This writer estimates that eighty per cent of his students in American history during the past four years (well over one thousand in number) when polled claimed that in high school they had been presented with only the "pro" side of the United Nations, the Marshall Plan, the North Atlantic Treaty, and the Truman policy of containment. Why should this be the case? Is it because teachers have been absorbed by the current wave of patriotism and bipartisanship? Is it because they are afraid to analyze, evaluate, and criticize? Is it because they fear investigation by federal agents? Is it because they have fallen prey to semantics? Or is it because they are no longer thinking for themselves? Even professors of

history are sometimes the victims of robot thinking. Occasionally they become chroniclers just as during the age when the divine right theory of kings was popular, court historians heralded the deeds and exploits of their rulers. About a year ago a prominent professor at Columbia University, Henry Steele Commager, temporarily abandoned the role of historian and embarked upon that of prognosticator.

Truman has gone ahead and chalked up one achievement after another in both foreign and domestic affairs. The most important accomplishments are clearly in the foreign field. . . . Under the compelling pressure of military realities, Congress accepted the Truman program, voted immense sums for the military, stepped up taxes, organized production and created an army big enough to meet aggression whenever aggression should strike. . . . All in all, here is a record that is not only respectable but impressive. We cannot know what verdict history will pronounce upon it, but we can make a pretty good guess. It will perhaps record the curious paradox that a man charged with being soft on communism has done more than any other leader in the Western World, with the exception of Churchill, to contain communism; that a man charged with mediocrity has launched a whole series of far-sighted plans for world reconstruction. . . .⁵

According to the late Charles A. Beard, advocacy of American interventionism is a huge vested interest.

The daily press and the radio . . . do their best to inflame readers, listeners, and lookers with a passion for putting down the wicked abroad. Foreign propagandists, often well paid by American audiences, play the same game. And brash young tomtom beaters in journalism who know no history beyond a few days ago, write books on the 'inside' of this or that, all directed profitably to the same end. How did we get this way? This is the fundamental question for all of us who are trying to take bearings. . . . The heady ideology put forth to sustain the imperialist policy may be summarized as follows: America has grown up, has acquired man's stature and put on long pants; the

frontier has passed; the continent has been rounded out; America must put aside childish things, become a great big world power, follow the example of Great Britain, France, and Germany, build a monster navy, grab colonies, sea bases, and trading posts throughout the world, plunge into every big dispute among European powers, and carry 'civilization' to 'backward races.'⁶

Ponderous queries seem fitting apropos four applications of the Truman policy of collective security and the containment of communism via (1) the United Nations, (2) the Marshall Plan, (3) the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, and (4) the employment of armed force in Korea to check aggression.

In the case of the United Nations many fail to realize that basically it is a confederation with each member in full possession of its own sovereignty. It is no more than a loose league of states. It lacks three essential attributes of government: it cannot tax; it cannot regulate commerce; it cannot coerce. Failing to possess any one of these three powers, let alone all three, is enough to doom any government to eventual failure. Nevertheless, American confidence in the United Nations apparently remains unshaken.

The Marshall Plan, despite its legal termination at the close of 1951, raises many doubts as to the wisdom of trying to purchase security with dollars. It was originally based on the false assumption that World War II destroyed the productive capacity of Europe beyond her ability to effect repairs. However, at the end of 1946 industrial production in Belgium, France, and Holland had recovered 85%-95% and that of Italy 60% of their prewar level. Another objection to the program is that by placing restrictions on loans to Europe, the United States, in some quarters, was called "Uncle Shylock." To have exacted no safeguards would have been foolhardy. Many persons fail to realize that intergovernmental loans delay a return to a free economy. International lending should be returned to private hands; if a banker makes an error in judgment he pays for it himself, not the taxpayer. Some countries which received Marshall aid were not the best exponents of capitalism and free

private enterprise. What assurances did the American people have that Marshall aid was nothing more than pump-priming? The expense of administering the program was great, and in some instances it fostered corruption and black markets abroad. Moreover, the European Recovery Program divided the Western World all the more sharply into two hostile camps—the East bloc and the West bloc. Furthermore, the Marshall program should be interpreted against the military background against which it was conceived. One is justified in asking whether Europe will fight if and when a showdown with Russia comes. Can the United States count on her? Why should the United States pour her resources into Western Europe when the latter shows little inclination and disposition to fight? Is there not danger in giving her weapons which may fall into the hands of Russia if the big *Putsch* comes? Can the plan be defended on the ground that it is necessary to forestall depression and bolster the American economy at home? And, perhaps most disturbing of all is one fact, the full implications of which many still do not appreciate—namely, there is a limit to America's resources.⁷ How many teachers of history and economics have raised such questions as these? Or, in the name of national unity is it better to accept the program *in toto*?

Similarly, there is a probability that the North Atlantic Pact has been misrepresented. By sponsoring and joining the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, the United States has abandoned her traditional policy of freedom of action, and the Pact may be regarded as a victory of European diplomacy disguised as an American idea. Is it not proper to ask whether there is any real value in rearming Europe? Is it probable that Russia can successfully invade and *occupy* the United States? Conversely, is it probable that the United States can successfully *occupy* Russia? Many persons fail to distinguish between invasion and occupation. Moreover, there are weak spots in the Pact since no member is bound too effectively. The Five Power Naval Pact and the Kellogg Pact of the twenties should have taught lessons in this respect. Furthermore, the northern and southern poles of the Pact, Denmark and Italy, are weak. This leaves a

gaping, wide-open hole (Germany and Austria) in between. No small number of legalists contend that NATO is legally incompatible with Article 51 of the United Nations Charter:

Nothing in the present Charter shall impair the inherent right of individual or collective self-defense if an armed attack occurs against a Member of the United Nations, until the Security Council has taken the measures necessary to maintain international peace and security.

But, *no armed attack against any member of the united nations has occurred with the United States or Russia as the aggressor.* Thus, why the North Atlantic Treaty Organization? If such an attack were to occur, what action could the Security Council take since each one of the Big Five can exercise the veto power in substantive matters? Another objection to NATO is that the United States cannot convince Russia that the purpose of the Pact is not one of aggression. Perhaps it will give Stalin the pretext to strike first—to employ the element of surprise. Great also is the danger of spreading aid too thinly around the world. The greater the area the United States proposes to defend, the thinner the aid must be spread. The Soviet bloc is compact while that of the United States is dispersed over several continents and oceans. The way the Pact was put across, with the initiative being assumed by a few military leaders and determiners of American foreign policy, there was little for the Senate to do other than to approve it; understandings with European powers had already been reached, and for the Senate to have refused ratification at such a late date would have been embarrassing. There is good reason to believe that other pacts of a similar character will follow. Already the Middle East, the Mediterranean countries and African coast, Southeast Asia, and the Southwest Pacific are seeking similar pacts with the United States. The effect of NATO on the American economy merits consideration which time and space do not permit.

Returning to the subject of semantics, the word "isolationist" has come to conjure almost demoniac visions. The label has been fastened

to both Herbert Hoover and Robert Taft. Few Americans are more internationally minded than Mr. Hoover who is respected in European capitals for his contributions during World War I. Many of those who have read Mr. Taft's book on foreign policy have modified their views regarding his alleged isolationism. The Hoover-Taft school believes that America's best security necessitates a strong defense at home through the creation of a first rate navy and air force. There is merit in such a position. Both Hoover and Taft warn of the problems involved in defending Europe. Such a defense line would of necessity be more than four hundred miles in length; yet in Korea the forces of the United Nations at one time found themselves taxed in holding a defense line of one hundred miles. Hitler could not invade England, and Russia is stronger than England. There is good reason to believe that in the event of war between the United States and Russia, Stalin would relish seeing America bog down in Europe. Push button warfare is still far removed from reality; occupation and the use of infantry are still necessary in the final analysis. The United States is still surrounded by a wide moat—3,000 miles on the Atlantic side and 6,000 miles on the Pacific. It is difficult to envisage problems of transport over such great distances, the solution of which is a necessary preparation to a successful attack, invasion, and occupation of the United States. Nobody knows this any better than Stalin. Atomic bombs still cannot carry soldiers across oceans! Let Europe do more to help herself. There is reason to believe that she has no will to fight and wants no part in an East-West struggle. Responsible leaders told the American people that the Atlantic Pact did not contemplate the deployment of ground forces to Europe; the assumption was that America's contribution would be that of aerial and naval support. Since the inception of NATO, contingents of American armed forces have arrived in Europe, and the door is now open for an expansion of this policy. If American foreign policy is defensive and not offensive, as the Truman Administration contends, let the United States make her own borders safe from attack by placing first reliance on aerial and naval defense. With good cause there are

many who are convinced that the United States is playing into Stalin's hands by tapping her manpower and resources through undertaking commitments in all parts of the world.

Perhaps the words of Charles A. Beard are as fitting today as in 1939:

The United States is a continental power separated from Europe by a wide ocean which, despite all changes in warfare, is still a powerful asset of defense. . . . We should promote commerce, but force 'nothing.' We should steer clear of hates and loves. We should maintain correct and formal relations with all established governments without respect to their forms or their religions. . . .⁵

Even the words of Shakespeare fit the occasion. In the fourth act of *King Henry the Fourth*, the dying king advises his son and heir:

. . . Therefore, my Harry,
Be it thy course to busy giddy minds
With foreign quarrels; that action, hence
borne out,
May waste the memory of the former days.⁶

¹ J. Salwyn Schapiro, "The Age of Uncertainty," *The Social Studies*, 43 (May, 1952), 187-95. Quotations are from pp. 187, 193, and 194.

² For a discussion of the influence of the military see "New Evidence of the Militarization of America," (a report issued by Pearl Buck, Louis Bromfield, Albert Einstein, Ray Lyman Wilbur, et. al.) circulated by The National Council against Conscription, 1013 18th Street N.W., Washington 6, D. C., February, 1949. The section entitled, "Militarism in Education," pp. 24-31, is revealing. Statistics and quotations used in the text are from pp. 24, 27, and 28.

³ *The Social Studies*, 43 (May, 1952), 189.

⁴ *The Tyranny of Words*, N. Y., Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1938. Quotations are from pp. 23-24, 21, 328, and 28.

⁵ "A Few Kind Words for Harry Truman," (Extension of Remarks of Hon. Ernest W. McFarland of Arizona in the Senate of the United States, Wednesday, August 15, 1951), *Congressional Record—Appendix*, August 15, 1951, pp. 5381-82.

⁶ *Giddy Minds and Foreign Quarrels*, *Harper's Magazine*, 179 (September, 1939), 337-52. Quotations are from pp. 338-39.

⁷ For such an approach to the Marshall Plan see Henry Hazlitt, *Will Dollars Save the World?* New York, Appleton-Century, 1947.

⁸ "Giddy Minds and Foreign Quarrels," *Harper's Magazine*, 179 (September, 1939), 347.

⁹ Scene V, lines 213-16.

The Morris Proviso

Does It Prohibit the President and Vice-President from Being Citizens of the Same State

WILLIAM A. RUSS, JR.

Susquehanna University, Selinsgrove, Pennsylvania

It is a commonly held belief that the Constitution prohibits the president and vice-president from being citizens of the same state. A recent example of this assumption is afforded by Burton J. Hendrick in his *Lincoln's War Cabinet*, in which, speaking of the aberrations of the anti-Lincoln Republican convention held at Cleveland in 1864, he states:

The convention itself solemnly climaxed these absurdities by nominating Fremont, of New York, for President and John Cochrane, also of New York, for Vice-President—thus ignoring the constitutional provision that the candidates for these two offices could not be citizens of the same state.¹

The basis for this statement is the Twelfth Amendment of 1804 which repeated, almost word for word, the same restriction in the original Constitution. The pertinent words in the Amendment are:

The electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by ballot for President and Vice-President, one of whom, at least, shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves; . . .

It is the thesis of this essay that the above words, properly read, do not necessarily prohibit the president and vice-president from being citizens of the same state, although that was their aim. A close reading is necessary because the phrasing is involved and legalistic.² It is probably this very obliqueness of phrasing which has caused many writers to miss what the provision actually says.

The source of the restriction is involved in the hasty and complicated discussions of the constitutional convention when the delegates were working out a system of electing the chief executive. Schemes were broached, debated,

accepted, reconsidered, modified, dropped, and revived during almost the entire length of the convention. Time and again the delegates turned anxiously to the question in an attempt to evolve a way which would (1) suit both the large and small states and (2) give the people some, but not too much control, over the election of the head of state. James Wilson of Pennsylvania said the mode of election of the chief magistrate was "the most difficult of all on which we have had to decide."³

Even before the convention had settled upon the type of chief executive, various suggestions were made, and votes taken, on the method of election or appointment.⁴ On July 17 by a vote of all ten states then in attendance, the convention determined upon a single executive. Having so agreed, the delegates next faced the task of spelling out a method of choosing him. On the same day, two suggestions were defeated: the first, to elect the national executive by popular vote, lost nine states to one; the second, to employ electors who would be chosen by the state legislatures, was refused, eight states to two. Then the convention unanimously accepted a motion to choose the head of the state by the national legislature.⁵ On July 19 this action was reconsidered in favor of choice by electors appointed by the state legislatures.⁶ On July 24 the method was changed to choice of the executive by the national legislature.⁷

Next day James Madison of Virginia said he favored direct election of the chief magistrate by the people, although he admitted that each state would prefer one of its own citizens and that the large states would have an advantage over the small ones.⁸ Hugh Williamson of North Carolina at once offered the germ of the idea which is the subject of this essay. He

suggested that, inasmuch as direct election might be unjust to the small states, each voter be permitted to cast ballots for three candidates, one of whom would "probably" be from his own state, the other two from different states. Gouverneur Morris of Pennsylvania, who had already gone on record in favor of direct election of the chief magistrate, snapped up Williamson's idea and composed the phrasing which, substantially, still exists and which justifies calling it the Morris proviso. Saying he liked Williamson's suggestion, Morris changed it to this form: "... that each man should vote for two persons one of whom at least should not be of his own State."⁹

Madison, who also desired direct election, declared in defense of Morris's formula: "The second best man in this case would probably be the first, in fact." He saw only one objection in the Morris proviso, namely, that the second vote might be thrown away on some obscure person of another state.¹⁰ As yet nothing had been said about creating a vice-president; even as late as August 6 a committee reported in favor of making the president of the senate the successor of the president in case of the latter's disability or death. Morris seems to have been thinking in terms of giving each voter two choices for the presidency.

Thus the Morris proviso originated on July 25 in an effort of Williamson, Morris and Madison to secure popular election of the chief executive as against election by the national legislature or by state legislatures or by electors chosen by one or the other. It was suggested as a cure for the evil of large-state domination which might accompany popular election. The direct-election advocates were, however, in a minority; the convention had already gone on record as favoring election by the national legislature.

Apparently the Williamson-Morris-Madison forces concluded that they could never persuade the convention to accept direct election, for they turned to indirect election by electors, who, however, would be chosen popularly. On August 24, Morris offered a motion, seconded by Daniel Carroll of Maryland, that the chief executive be chosen by electors selected by the people of the states. Although this was quite

similar to what was finally accepted, the motion lost.¹¹

Many of the delegates were not satisfied with the convention's decision, already taken, to elect the head of the state by the national legislature. They were still casting about for a method which would suit everyone. Moreover, time was running out. It would appear that Morris and his friends continued to argue for their formula, as offered on August 24; for, on September 4 a committee of eleven headed by David Brearley of New Jersey reported on a number of disputed matters, one of which was the method of choosing the chief executive. The committee gave to Morris and his adherents almost all they desired. It suggested that electors be chosen by the states as the legislatures thereof might direct. And, for the first time in the deliberations, a vice-president was provided for. The Morris proviso was included in the committee's report, although it was now to apply to members of the electoral colleges rather than to voters.¹² After a few changes the committee's plan for electing the president and vice-president was accepted.¹³ The wording of the proviso as it went into the completed Constitution was as follows:

The Electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by Ballot for two persons, of whom one at least shall not be an Inhabitant of the same State with themselves.¹⁴

Furthermore:

The Person having the greatest Number of Votes shall be President, if such Number be a Majority of the whole Number of Electors appointed; . . . after the Choice of the President, the Person having the greatest Number of Votes of the Electors shall be the Vice-President.

This scheme of electing the two executive officers was considered to be the one part of the original Constitution which was above criticism. Alexander Hamilton asserted in No. LXVII of *The Federalist*:

The mode of appointment of the chief magistrate of the United States is almost the only part of the system of any consequence which has escaped without severe censure, or which has received the slightest mark of approbation from its opponents. The most plausible of these, who has appeared in

print, has even deigned to admit that the election of the President is pretty well guarded. I venture somewhat further, and hesitate not to affirm that, if the manner of it be not perfect, it is at least excellent.

Nevertheless, the "mode of appointment of the chief magistrate" turned out, in practice, to be clumsy and confusing. Like many other portions of the Constitution, it was a compromise between the large and small states; unlike the Great Compromise, however, it was impracticable. The Great Compromise was workable, but unjust to the large states; the electoral compromise was theoretically just to both large and small states, but was unworkable in a practical sense.

A superficial reading of the proviso would indicate that its most obvious aim was to prevent one state—it would probably be a large one—from dominating both offices of the executive department of the government. Without doubt this was one of the purposes behind the proviso, even though the point was not stressed in that form by the members of the convention.¹⁵ At all events, during the four presidential elections held under the original electoral system, the president and vice-president did come from different states. It may be apropos to add that the proviso did nothing, and could do nothing, to prevent one state, like Virginia, from monopolizing most of the early presidencies.

The aim of giving a fair deal to the small states was emphasized in later years when the Twelfth Amendment was being debated. In 1803 Morris declared that two things, above all, had been granted to the small states in the electoral compromise: (1) the requirement that the colleges vote for two persons, one of whom was not a citizen of the same state as the electors—in other words, the proviso; and (2) the process by which, if the electors failed to reach a majority, the president was to be chosen by the lower house from the five highest names.¹⁶

Let us begin with Morris's first point. By requiring that each elector vote for one person who was not a citizen of the same state as the elector, the proviso was supposed to prevent the concentration of each state's electoral vote upon its own citizens and thereby give to the

small states a chance of electing a president once in a while.¹⁷ It was expected that second-choice votes would give the vice-presidency to a small state quite frequently; an added help was the provision that election to the vice-presidency required only a plurality. According to Morris, it was understood in the convention that "the Vice-Presidency would be but as a bait to catch state gudgeons."¹⁸ It is still unfortunately true that the candidates for vice-president are usually obscure or second-rate men, nominated to "catch state gudgeons."¹⁹ It cannot be maintained, however, that the Morris proviso helped to elect any presidents or vice-presidents from small states during the period in which the old electoral system was in force. In the first four elections, both executive offices were controlled by Virginia, Massachusetts, and New York.

Morris's second point is connected with the matter of scattering of electoral votes for favorite sons. In fact the proviso was an invitation for colleges to do so. This practice was foreseen by the framers of the electoral system, who thought the electors would be nominators more than electors. Most elections, it was predicted, would be thrown into the lower house because each state's college would offer one of its citizens as first choice. George Mason of Virginia, for instance, declared that the electors would arrive at a majority only once in twenty elections.²⁰ In view of the exaggerated state pride of the time, this prediction could not be called unfounded. As a matter of fact, the election of the president by the lower house was thought to be one of the virtues of the electoral machinery because it offered a fair compromise between large and small states. In the words of Roger Sherman of Connecticut: "... if the Small States had the advantage in the Senate's²¹ deciding among the five highest candidates, the large States would have in fact the nomination of these candidates."²² Moreover, if most elections should be thrown into the lower house, those delegates who desired election of the chief executive by the national legislature would be winning, to a large degree, what they had been arguing for.

If each state's college performed as foreseen, then there would usually, perhaps always,

be thirteen nominations (or as many as there were states) without a majority for any one. Five men would be "nominated" by the five largest colleges, and the president would be chosen by the lower house, where each state had one vote. The six smallest states could be expected to unite with one of the large five to choose the chief executive. Until new states were added to change the ratio, the president would normally be elected by a vote of seven states to six in the house. Seemingly the Fathers did not shrink from such a system, for Morris later said, in defense of his proviso, that by it "the chance for an absolute choice [by the colleges] is greatly diminished."²³

By the same token, if it were reasonable to suspect that each state's college would select one of its sons as first choice, it is not unlikely that each state's college, if permitted, would nominate two of its sons. Should all thirteen states join the union, there might, theoretically, be twenty-six nominations without a majority for any one. Had each state in 1788 been allowed to vote for two of its citizens, the ten colleges which participated in that election might have produced a line-up which looked like this:

FIRST CHOICE

New Hampshire	5 for Mr. A of N. H.
Massachusetts	10 for Mr. C of Mass.
Connecticut	7 for Mr. E of Conn.
New Jersey	6 for Mr. G of N. J.
Pennsylvania	10 for Mr. I of Pa.
Delaware	3 for Mr. K of Del.
Maryland	6 for Mr. M of Md.
Virginia	10 for Mr. O of Va.
South Carolina	7 for Mr. Q of S. C.
Georgia	5 for Mr. S of Ga.

69

SECOND CHOICE

New Hampshire	5 for Mr. B of N. H.
Massachusetts	10 for Mr. D of Mass.
Connecticut	7 for Mr. F of Conn.
New Jersey	6 for Mr. H of N. J.
Pennsylvania	10 for Mr. J of Pa.
Delaware	3 for Mr. L of Del.
Maryland	6 for Mr. N of Md.
Virginia	10 for Mr. P of Va.
South Carolina	7 for Mr. R of S. C.
Georgia	5 for Mr. T of Ga.

69

Such a result would have presented an impossible situation because, with six nominations (Messrs. C and D of Massachusetts, I and J of Pennsylvania, and O and P of Virginia) tied at ten votes each, the constitutional requirement that the five highest be sent to the lower house could not have been carried out. By demanding that the electors vote for at least one person outside their own state, the Morris proviso reduced such potential ties by half—in this case from six to three. Whether the Fathers foresaw the emergence of tie votes is not clear, although Morris, at a later date, declared they did.²⁴ Yet, even with the Morris proviso, there was great danger of "hung" elections. As it turned out, in some cases a tie between the party's candidates was desired by the party leaders; and in others, machinations were necessary to prevent candidates of the party from getting an equal number of votes.²⁵

The four elections held under the old electoral system showed in bold relief the serious defects in the whole set-up. The Morris proviso had led to scattering of votes for favorite sons in two of the contests, and did little to prevent the tie-vote evil in three of them.

For several reasons, the coming of the party system threw sand into the electoral machinery. In the first place, once parties had become strong, the normal outcome of every election would probably be a tie vote within the party. The election of 1800 showed what was in the offing.

In the second place, parties reduced the electors to mere rubber stamps. The Fathers had intended to provide a method whereby the electors would be free to choose whom they wished for president and vice-president; they had hoped that parties would not materialize.²⁶ Unless the election was thrown into the house,²⁷ the electors were actually to be the electors of the president and vice-president, and not mere automatons. Nevertheless, it is questionable whether the doctrine of free agency worked even in the pre-party elections. In 1788, for example, it was understood ahead of time that electors would choose Washington. Any presumptive elector who had made it plain that he intended to vote as he pleased would have

been defeated. By 1796 it was rather widely accepted that electors should vote as they were told or as they had pledged themselves to vote.²⁸ By 1802 Representative Samuel L. Mitchell of New York could say that "the people do not elect a person for an elector who, they know, does not intend to vote for a particular person as President."²⁹ Representative James Holland of North Carolina declared that it had always been known for whom the electors would vote.³⁰

In the third place, the party system made the Morris proviso even less useful than it had been before. Those who invented the electoral system were thinking in terms of state rights, isolation, and provincialism. For instance, Madison in a statement already referred to, was afraid that voters of each state would cast their second choices for obscure men of other states because the people of one state or section had comparatively little information about the leading men of other states and sections.

The early formation of national parties helped to unite the country and to do away with particularism. Instead of thirteen state political organizations, two parties developed—with adherents in all states. Parties were nationalized to such an extent that by 1800, if not before, there were two countrywide political organizations, each with two candidates for the two executive offices. State pride, which had led to the nomination of many favorite sons, ceased entirely by 1800. In that election the electoral votes were so concentrated that only one ballot was thrown away—that for John Jay, and it was not cast by a New Yorker.

With political sentiment congealed into two national parties, the Morris proviso was no longer needed. No sensible party, particularly in a two-party system, would choose two candidates from the same state when, if victory was desired, it must appeal to as wide a constituency as possible in every state.³¹ This doctrine of geographic distribution had, indeed, been recognized from the very beginning. In 1788, when it was agreed that Washington of Virginia should be the president, good politics dictated that John Adams of Massachusetts should be running mate. The same was true in 1792. In 1796 Adams of Massachusetts was teamed with Thomas Pinckney of South Caro-

lina. In 1800 Jefferson of Virginia ran with Burr of New York, and Adams with C. C. Pinckney of South Carolina.

With each party aiming for a tie vote between its own candidates, the cumbersome electoral machinery reached the height of absurdity in the election of 1800. The result was ratification of the Twelfth Amendment just in time to be used in the election of 1804. Interestingly enough, Morris, now a senator from New York, opposed the principle of the Amendment when it was being discussed in 1802.³²

In the congressional debates over the Amendment, the Morris proviso played little part.³³ No one objected to it; in fact it was mentioned only a few times. Senator Uriah Tracy of Connecticut said: "In the article which obliges the Electors of President to vote for one person not an inhabitant of the same State with themselves, is discovered State jealousy." He concluded that the proviso was a means of giving to small states a chance to elect a candidate now and then.³⁴ James Hillhouse of the same state declared that the proviso "was to prevent any one State domineering over the rest."³⁵ Representative Roger Griswold, also of Connecticut, mentioned it in passing.³⁶ Perhaps the chief onslaught upon the principle of the proviso came unconsciously from certain members of Congress who wished to abolish the vice-presidency. Those who looked upon that office as a useless one included Senator Jonathan Dayton of New Jersey (who had been a member of the constitutional convention) and Representative Samuel W. Dana of Connecticut.³⁷ Had the second office been done away with, the Morris proviso would have been meaningless, even if allowed to remain.

Despite the fact that the Morris proviso was practically useless after the party system developed, it was repeated in the Twelfth Amendment. The electors were to vote on separate ballots for president and vice-president, one of whom was to be a citizen of a state other than that of the electors. The wording of the proviso was almost exactly the same as in the original Constitution; in fact the phrasing was substantially that as had been composed by Morris on July 25, 1787 in the constitutional convention.

The question may well be asked: Why was the Morris proviso retained in the Twelfth Amendment? Even though it was possibly of some service during a time when state pride might lead electors to vote for two favorite sons, it was worthless for all practical purposes in a system of nationally organized parties. The drafters of the Amendment may have thought the prohibition was a harmless one, which, in addition, might continue to do some good in preventing one state from controlling the executive department. More likely is the explanation that the supporters of the reform did not understand the meaning of the new two-party system.

The vital question, however, is whether the Morris proviso, either in the original Constitution or in the Twelfth Amendment, could have prevented the choice of two men from the same state. If the words of the proviso mean what they say, the answer is "No." It does not prohibit all the colleges from voting for two candidates from the same state if the candidates are citizens of a state other than that of the electors doing the voting; it stipulates merely that each college must not vote for two of its own citizens. For instance, the electors of state "X" may not vote for two men from state "X," but the electors of states "Y" and "Z" are not stopped from electing two men from state "X."

On the other hand, there is no doubt that the Fathers wished to prevent both president and vice-president from coming from the same state. Intent, however, does not make law. To carry effect, the intent and the words must be in agreement. The courts habitually construe laws in accordance with what the laws say, and not in accordance with the motive or intent behind the laws. The electoral-college system itself is an example of the way in which a provision may be changed completely from the original intent of the drafters. It was never the purpose of the Fathers that electors should be mere registers of party decisions. Yet the electoral colleges fulfill the letter of the Constitution by meeting every four years even though they have no power of independent choice of their own.

The looseness of the wording of the proviso

is to be accounted for in the following way. As has been shown, Morris's proposal emerged on the spur of the moment in a discussion about direct election of the chief magistrate. The kernel of the idea had been tossed out by Williamson in another form as an antidote to the advantage which might accrue to the large states if the head of the government were popularly elected. The proviso was retained after direct election by the voters had given way to indirect election by electoral colleges. Thus a cautionary provision to cure one of the ills of direct election was kept after direct election had been abandoned even by Morris and his friends. To add to the confusion, a vice-president was later added, almost as an afterthought. Further proof that the Fathers did not think the proviso through is hardly needed.

In their desire to speed the work of the convention,³⁸ the framers, in this instance at least, failed to say what they intended. The haste to get the job done no doubt explains the obliqueness of the phrasing which makes the Morris proviso so difficult to understand. Even when offered as a restriction upon voters, the wording was so inexact that it is doubtful whether its intention could have been carried out. The English became even more involved and inverted when the proviso was thoughtlessly used as a restriction upon electors.

To demonstrate that, as a restriction upon electors, the proviso could not prevent the president and vice-president from being citizens of the same state, let us assume that the anti-Lincoln party of 1864, instead of collapsing, had won an electoral majority for Frémont and Cochrane, both of whom were from New York. What would have happened? The Morris proviso declares that in such a case the electors of New York may not vote for both a president and a vice-president, although they may vote for one or the other. In short, New York alone would suffer.

Presumably the New York electors would have been forced to choose between their fellow citizen running for president and the one running for vice-president. In all likelihood the decision would not have been difficult to make: they would have voted for the more

important office and lost their ballots for the second place. If New York's electoral vote had been necessary to put Frémont in office, there is no question that it would go for the presidential candidate. In case the New York electors had broken the Morris proviso by casting ballots for both Frémont and Cochrane, then it was the duty of Congress, when it canvassed the electoral votes, to throw out either the state's vote for president or its vote for vice-president.

Those electoral colleges which had been won by Frémont and Cochrane in other states could have voted for the two New Yorkers because neither was an inhabitant of the same state as the electors. There is nothing unusual in this action so far as most electoral colleges are concerned; in a normal two-party election all the colleges except four will be voting for men who are not residents of their own states. Pennsylvania's electors have not had the pleasure of voting for one of their own citizens for vice-president since 1844 or for president since 1856. In fact, in most of the elections since 1788, Pennsylvania has been instructing its electors to choose men for president and vice-president, neither of whom was "an inhabitant of the same State with themselves."

The only difference between this normal situation and the abnormal one (both candidates from the same state) is that all the colleges which had been won by Frémont and Cochrane would be voting for two men from the same state instead of two men from different states.³⁰ The electors would be fulfilling the constitutional stipulation of the Morris proviso that they vote for at least one man who was not an inhabitant of the same state with themselves. Furthermore, had Frémont and Cochrane lost New York's electoral vote but won an electoral majority from other states, there would have been no difficulty whatever. The Morris proviso in that case would not apply to New York at all, for the electors of the opposition party would cast their vote for that state.

Perhaps it is unnecessary to add that this contention is, in no sense, an argument that the president and vice-president should be citizens of the same state. It is simply an attempt to read meaning into a rather obscure

provision which the Fathers themselves did not analyze and which has been misunderstood ever since. Why a political party would admit the scarcity of its leadership by selecting two men from the same state is hard to see;⁴⁰ Hendrick's characterization of the action of the Cleveland convention as absurd is well taken. Moreover, it is equally as hard to see why other states would willingly vote for two men from the same state. Nevertheless, if they did and if a majority of electoral votes were given to two such candidates, nothing in the wording of the Morris proviso would prohibit their assumption of the offices to which they had been constitutionally elected.

¹ (Boston, 1946), p. 437.

² How this came about is to be explained presently.

³ Max Farrand, ed., *The Records of the Federal Convention of 1787* (3 vols., New Haven, 1911) II, 501.

⁴ See for instance, *ibid.*, I (June 1) 69; I (June 2) 77; I (June 18) 292.

⁵ *Ibid.*, II (July 17) 24.

⁶ *Ibid.*, II, 50, 51.

⁷ *Ibid.*, II, 98, 99, 101.

⁸ *Ibid.*, II, 111.

⁹ *Ibid.*, II (July 25) 113. The question whether Morris's wording really said what he intended will be discussed in due time.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, II (July 25) 114.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, II (August 24) 401-04.

¹² *Ibid.*, II (Sept. 4) 493.

¹³ *Ibid.*, II (Sept. 6) 517-21.

¹⁴ In the words of Senator Uriah Tracy of Connecticut, who was speaking in 1803, the following is the way in which the electoral principle was to work: "... each Elector is to write the names of two persons on a piece of paper called a ballot. Either of the two persons thus voted for may be President, and the Elector cannot know which." (*Annals of Congress*, 8 Cong., 1 Sess., Dec. 2, 1803, p. 169). It has come to be customary to speak of first and second choices; that is to say, an elector's first vote would be for president and his second vote for vice-president. Inasmuch as both votes were equal and as neither could be "designated," there is no constitutional basis for referring to first and second choices. As used in this paper, "first choice" means the elector's preference for president and "second choice" his preference for vice-president.

¹⁵ There was little time for debate because the electoral plan was agreed upon at such a late date in the deliberations.

¹⁶ Gouverneur Morris to Lewis R. Morris, Dec. 10, 1803, in Farrand, III, 405.

¹⁷ Cf., speech of Jonathan Dayton of New Jersey in the United States Senate, Oct. 24, 1803, printed in Farrand, III, 339; also Senator Uriah Tracy of Connecticut, Dec. 2, 1803, in *Annals of Congress* (8 Cong. 1 Sess.), p. 164.

¹⁸ Gouverneur Morris to the President of the New York Senate, Dec. 25, 1802, in Farrand, III, 393-95.

¹⁹ Senator Samuel White of Delaware predicted that the caliber of vice-president would decline if the Twelfth Amendment were ratified. See *Annals of Congress* (8 Cong. 1 Sess.), Dec. 2, 1803, pp. 144-45.

²⁰ Farrand, II, 500.

²¹ At this point in the convention's discussions, it had not yet been decided to send the five highest names to the lower house.

²² Farrand, II (Sept. 5) 512-13. The same point was made by Rufus King, in *ibid.*, 514; and by Madison in the Virginia ratifying convention, in *ibid.*, III, 329-30, and in letters he wrote in 1823 and 1825, III, 458, 464.

²³ Gouverneur Morris to Lewis R. Morris, Dec. 10, 1803, in Farrand, III, 405.

²⁴ Gouverneur Morris to the President of the New York Senate, Dec. 25, 1802, in Farrand, III, 393-95.

²⁵ For the story of the elections of 1788, 1792, 1796, and 1800, see Edward Stanwood, *A History of the Presidency from 1788 to 1897*, edited by Charles Knowles Bolton (Boston and N. Y., revised edition, 1924), pp. 26-28, 39, 49-51, 62-63. See also Joseph Jackson, *Survey of the Electoral College in the Political System of the United States*, which was printed as *Sen. Doc. 97* (79 Cong. 1 Sess.).

²⁶ This statement is denied in some quarters. For instance, Senator Uriah Tracy of Connecticut declared, in 1803, that the Fathers expected parties to develop. See *Annals of Congress* (8 Cong. 1 Sess.), p. 170.

²⁷ Even if the choice was thrown into the house, the electors were supposed to be free to "nominate" the five highest names.

²⁸ Cf., Stanwood, p. 51.

²⁹ *Annals of Congress* (7 Cong. 1 Sess.), May 2, 1802, pp. 1289-90.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, (8 Cong. 1 Sess.), Dec. 8, 1803, p. 736.

³¹ Representative Andrew Gregg of Pennsylvania perceived this fact when he said: "While the country is divided into two great political parties, (and I believe it will long continue to be so divided,) each party will endeavor to select the most prominent character, whose political sentiments are in unison with their own, and place him in the Presidential chair, without any regard to local situation." See *ibid.*, p. 704.

³² Stanwood, p. 12. See also *Annals of Congress* (7 Cong. 1 Sess.), May 3, 1802, p. 304.

³³ The debates can be followed through the *Annals of Congress* (8 Cong. 1 Sess.) on pp. 22-26, 82-210, 646-63, 663-99, 700-76.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, Dec. 2, 1803, pp. 161, 164.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 190.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, Dec. 8, 1803, p. 747.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 21, 671-72, 682.

³⁸ Cf., James Madison to George Hay, Aug. 23, 1823, in Farrand, III, 458, in which Madison says that threshing out the electoral college plan "took place in the latter stage of the Session, [and] it was not exempt from a degree of the hurrying influence produced by fatigue and impatience in all such Bodies."

³⁹ Except New York's college, which would be affected by the proviso.

⁴⁰ State residence laws make the Morris proviso more or less academic. In some states it is possible to become a citizen or resident in six months.

Do We Over-Emphasize Current Events?

ELIZABETH H. PILANT

Ball State Teachers College, Muncie, Indiana

Undeniable as the value of the current events or current problems approach to the teaching of the social studies is, it has some serious drawbacks. That is especially true in our country in a time like the present.

In the first place, too many teachers do not use the method correctly, that is, in the manner likely to produce the best results. The study of current events is properly only an "approach" to the study of the social sciences. Many teachers forget that word "approach" and never get beyond current events and current problems in their teaching. Others equally ignore the word "approach" by not coordinating in any way their teaching of the current problems with the great body of the social studies. That is, they present current events as something to be studied for one period a week.

It must be clearly kept in mind at all times that just as the present time is a moment in the eternity of history, current events is an episode in the long story of world history.

There surely never has been any question as to whether current problems or current events is a substitute for history, economics, sociology, anthropology, geography, and government. At most, the argument was rather a question of whether teachers should approach history chronologically, starting at the Year One and coming forward, or whether they might well approach history as we have to ourselves, from the present backward, in order to relate ourselves and our times to all the past. To the use of current problems and current events as a springboard to the study of the great body of the social sciences, I would raise little objection. The procedure seems solidly based in such principles of pedagogy as the utilization of local resources of our own time and starting with the child where you find him.

Now for the contention that in our own country and at this time there are perils in the too exclusive use of current events and current problems as a substitute rather than

an approach to the great field of civic knowledge.

Perhaps never before has a generation felt so strongly that only itself and its own problems were paramount. Instead of needing to be brought closer and closer to present-day problems, our schools today need almost the opposite goal of trying to make the younger generation know that it does not stand alone before the bar of history and that it alone is not to be held solely to blame for what may happen in its life-time. Such a responsibility is too crushing for any generation to bear. Rather we must be made to know that we are one with all the past and all the future both here and everywhere, that all of us now alive form but a segment in the vast front mankind presents toward the forces of time. In any other direction lies universal menticide. To be convinced that it lies alone with us and ours as to whether this world goes up in smoke or not is to invite world-wide suicide, another lost generation, lost on the quixotic battlefields of peace by those driven mad by a too engrossing sense of world responsibility and eternal answerability.

Such may be the end-result of a too incessant calling of the present generation in our schools in the study of current problems to shoulder the guilt of all the past and sacrifice itself for the future in a sort of mass crucifixion. To overplay the importance of the present and the possible scope of accomplishment of a generation is to distort all history; it is to lead the child into a hall of distorting mirrors in which it is impossible to recognize a semblance of true proportion.

Again, it is a question whether the school must endlessly repeat the patterns of the present adult experience in the classrooms for the generation of tomorrow as a preparation for future useful living. It smacks of the old military bureaucratic method of preparing now to fight the Second World War instead of the Third. In other words, is it the ideal function of the school in its attempt at life adjustment education (whatever that may mean) to repeat endlessly present situations outside the walls of the school? This procedure suggests mental inbreeding with all its genetic evils. Perhaps

it is part of the function of the schools not just to prepare students to live in a world which will be past before they can take any decisive role, but to see that the student in school gets a glimpse at least of the things of importance in our cultural history which may not be sufficiently represented in the present, factors that may again need to be reintroduced and revitalized in order to maintain the balance of nature, to compensate for aberrations in the present social orbit. A too great concern with society as it is at a given moment is likely to give the student the idea that the present is the only possible and viable set of circumstances, whereas he should know that it is but one of many, many more patterns that have had their day and passed on. Under the guise of teaching things as they are, under the pretense of scientific realism, we may easily deprive the student of the feeling that everything is not finished, completed.

To come down to some more pragmatic and tangible points, any obsession in the teaching of the social studies with current problems and current events is fraught with great dangers, especially so now in America. In a democracy the study of current problems implies the study of the things that are wrong with our society, a study of the questions on which we experience bitter disagreements among ourselves. Right now, during the cold war, may not be the best time to be forever harping on the awful things that are wrong with this country. It is hardly a logical attitude to take at the same time we are asking our young people to lay down their lives for their country at a moment's notice and even worse, from their viewpoint, to be ready to sacrifice their careers, both economic and social, at the mere intimation of national peril. It is hardly the time for muckraking.

Again, in a time of such bitter controversy as now, the teaching of current events as a substitute for the social studies or long-range history even, may be quite dangerous. This arises almost from the nature of the instructional materials used in current events . . . newspapers, magazines, and controversial books, all materials so new that it has not been possible for cool, scholarly second-thought to

sift the facts from the chaff, to differentiate between special pleading and disinterested scientific statements of the situation and the alternatives.

Those who have tried teaching current events and current problems have surely encountered another paradoxical difficulty that tends to make such instruction shortsighted and limping. That is, the individual facts of the present are so lively and the personalities so absorbing that it is difficult to lead the student to see great principles illustrated therein. That is, one becomes so interested in the individual trees that one cannot discern the grand out-

lines of the forest; details are so intriguing that the master proportions of the structure of history elude us. Again, in the turmoil of the day one cannot find any facts universally enough recognized by all parties to the controversy to have anything with which to illustrate any principle of political action. It is the difficulty of perceiving order in a kaleidoscope. Our weary generation needs no further temptation to chaos, no further introduction to relativity of an unintentional nature at least. Already it is vertiginous with change and in mental disarray before too great diversity of experience and come-uppance.

General Education in the Social Studies At a Teachers College

LEO J. ALILUNAS

State University of New York Teachers College, Fredonia, New York

Two years ago the social studies department at the State University of New York Teachers College at Fredonia began the work of reorganizing its basic required course in the social studies for all freshmen whether they be majors in music education or elementary education. These are the two majors offered at present here under the specialized curriculum structure of the eleven New York state teachers colleges.

For many years the traditional type of course was given to freshmen. This was History of Civilization. The scope in content was that which is usually included in the dozen or more textbooks available for the college market, a cursory treatment both in spatial and temporal extension, with the focus being Western European Civilization.

Some definite factors have influenced curriculum thinking at Fredonia during the past five years. First of all, there have been the tremendously significant world developments. The end of World War II saw the emergence of the United States and the Soviet Union as the world's two greatest powers. The war has

brought about the decline of great empires such as Great Britain, Japan and Germany, in particular, with resultant shifts in world power politics. Another great change has taken place and this may be noted even in the casual reading of newspapers and magazines. I refer to the revolutions which are under way in the Middle East and the Far East. In these revolutions we see the elements of colonialism and imperialism and new forms of nationalism in relation to the vital issue of war and peace.

In the second place, faculty personnel changes in the social studies department have brought about curriculum thinking from the functional rather than the traditional view of history. This means less of a teaching approach in which history is stressed for the sake of history itself. It means more that history is studied not just as content but as a method. It means also the utilization of history as a disciplinary tool in conjunction with the other disciplines of the social sciences. History is also studied more in terms of patterns, problems or issues contemporarily rather than as pure chronological narrative. Also, history

adapts itself in the instructional process to the historical readiness of our adolescents, who certainly are not going to be professional historians but who, for the purposes of general education as citizens living in a world of crisis, need historical perspective.

A third factor at Fredonia has been the general curriculum reorganization which has been effected during the past three years. Formerly a total of twenty-one hours was required for the elementary education majors. These courses were: History of Civilization, six hours; Contemporary Civilization (mainly European history since 1870), six hours; American history and government, six hours; sociology, three hours. Music majors were required to take twelve hours' work in the social studies: History of Civilization, six hours, and American history and government, six hours. As part of the total college curriculum revision, the number of required semester hours of work in all departments has been reduced to allow opportunity for students to take a greater range of courses through a system of options and electives. Fifteen semester hours are now required of elementary education majors: Fundamental Issues in the Modern World (a title later changed to the more conservative one of Modern World Civilization to allow students transferring to other colleges a better chance of getting credit where the institutions were likely to equate the course in terms of a more traditional course in History of Civilization), six hours; American history and government, six hours; and sociology, three hours. Music majors are now required to take twelve semester hours of work in the social studies: Fundamental Issues in the Modern World (or as now titled Modern World Civilization), six hours; American history and government, six hours. Under the system of options and electives students are allowed to select from a range of courses which includes the Soviet Union, the Far East, Latin-America, the Community, American Minority Groups, Political Parties, and special courses in American history.

The fourth factor in the curriculum change has been the influence of the general education movement, both in its nation-wide and state-

wide features. Members of the faculty in the various departments have attended conferences and workshops sponsored during the past two years by Dr. Hermann Cooper, the executive dean of teacher education of the State University of New York. Locally, a general education committee has sought to stimulate thinking and action directed toward the reorganization of courses.

Locally, also, members of the social studies department have been stimulated by reading and examining the specific literature on general education in the social studies. Of particular value have been such books as *General Education in the Social Sciences*, edited by Earl McGrath, and Albert Levi's *General Education in the Social Studies*. The Harvard Report, *General Education in a Free Society*, has been helpful in offering some principles of general education as they might apply to curriculum reorganization in a basic course in the social studies. The Harvard Report, for one thing, points to the folly of attempting in a single course a survey of the range of European civilization from the days of the Greeks to the present day. The report points to the need for selection and emphasis in purpose as well as content. It protests against the survey approach. General education must not be general in approach or it becomes too superficial. General education ought to open up some great questions and issues. General education in the social studies should be interdisciplinary. It should cut across the departments of history, economics, government, sociology and anthropology. (At a small college such as ours this is no problem. We have only the department of social studies and not departments in the various social sciences.) The Harvard Report expresses opposition to the block-survey or the "layer-cake" courses which have included unrelated portions of the social sciences. Finally, the Harvard Report makes a plea for the attainment of unity through a carefully considered principle of coherence. In other words, there needs to be thematic consciousness.

Following is the outline of the first semester's study of the course now retitled Modern World Civilization. The theme here is the ideological conflict.

Unit I—The Nature, Origins, Development and the Contemporary Crisis of the Democratic Societies.

A. The Nature of the Democratic Societies.

1. What is democracy?
2. What kinds of democratic societies are there in the modern world?
3. What do these democracies have in common?
4. How do they differ? (e.g., the capitalist democracy, U.S.A.; democratic socialism, Great Britain; the "Middle Way," Sweden).

B. Some Origins of Democratic Ideals Characteristic of Western Civilizations.

1. Ethical and religious heritages.
2. Intellectual and other cultural heritages.
3. Political foundations.
4. Economic foundations.

C. Specific Examples of the Development of Democratic Societies in Western Civilization.

1. England and the British Commonwealth.
2. France.

D. The Contemporary Crisis between Democratic and Totalitarian Societies.

1. The challenge of Fascism and Nazism provided by World War II.
2. The challenge of Soviet Russian totalitarianism since the end of World War II.

Unit II—Totalitarian Societies of the Twentieth Century—their Political Characteristics.

- A. Nazi Germany.
- B. Fascist Italy.
- C. Totalitarian U.S.S.R.
- D. Other Totalitarian Political Systems—e.g., Spain.

Unit III—Competitive Economic Systems in the World Today. (Suggested points of comparison are: Concepts of property, the ends and means of production, distribution and exchange, standards of living.)

- A. Capitalism.
- B. Communism.
- C. Socialism.
- D. Fascism.
- E. Other Systems.

Following is the outline of the second semester's study of the course, Modern World Civilization. The theme is Societies in Flux (as suggested by the examination of the forces of nationalism and imperialism and colonialism in the various world areas and their relevance to the prospects of war and peace).

Unit I—European Nationalism and Imperialism.

A. The Nature, Origins and Development of Nationalism in Europe.

1. Examples of nationalism in Western Europe.
2. Examples of nationalism in other parts of Europe, especially Eastern Europe.

B. European Nationalism and its Imperialistic Impact upon various World Areas since the Fifteenth Century.

1. North and South America.
2. Asia.
3. Africa.

Unit II—Nationalism and Imperialism as Forces in the Twentieth Century World.

A. The Rise of Nationalist Movements in various World Areas.

1. China.
2. India.
3. Other Pacific areas.
4. Nationalism in the Middle East—e.g., Israel, Egypt, Iran, and the rise of the Arab League.
5. Nationalism in other world areas.

B. An Interpretation of Nationalism and Imperialism as Forces Involved in the World Struggle Between Soviet Russia and the United States.

Unit III—The Prospects for War and Peace.

- A. Human Nature and War.
- B. Causes of Wars—Illustrations from Past Wars.
- C. Effects of Wars—Illustrations from Past Wars.
- D. Peace Efforts Prior to the Twentieth Century.
- E. World War I and the League of Nations.
- F. World War II and the United Nations.
- G. The Pro's and Con's of World Government Proposals.

Instructionally, there has been the problem of finding a basic textbook and other materials

which are suited to the maturity and intellectual capacities of our college freshmen. Books and magazines which are written primarily for professional historians and other social scientists are not comprehensible to them. They need more the printed materials which the general adult public that is sincerely interested in world affairs can understand. College textbook publishers themselves represent the curriculum lag in general education. They continue to publish textbooks organized on the history of civilization or the survey of social sciences bases. A good non-textbook such as Hans Kohn's *Twentieth Century* is excellent thematically but it is pedagogically poor for our students. It is written at too high an intellectual level. At present J. Salwyn Schapiro's *The World in Crisis* has been adopted by this writer as the textbook. It incorporates a number of big questions or issues outlined in the course and it has some readability appeal to students. This book is supplemented with other readings which include the excellent Oxford Book Company social studies pamphlets, with such titles as *The Soviet Union*, *The Middle East*, *Our Stake in the Far East*, and *Peace in the Making*; the Library of Congress bulletins, *Fascism in Action*, and *Communism in Action*; and the Headline Books of the Foreign Policy Association, as well as periodicals. Biographies, fiction and non-fiction books are also used during the year's course.

The number of war veteran students at our college has declined sharply during the past couple of years. The teen-agers we are now getting have very limited travel experiences

even within the United States. Their perceptive experiences about various world areas need to be enlarged by a variety of means—the reading of Section 4 of the Sunday edition of the *New York Times*, talks by such world travelers as James Michener and Maurice Hindus at our college assembly programs, the presentation of the play, *Darkness at Noon*, by the Mummers, our college drama club, and by films. Currently, we are using six or more films each semester in order to build the fund of the students' vicarious experiences. Such films as *Peoples of the Soviet Union*, *The Rise and Fall of Nazi Germany*, *A Yank Comes Back*, and the U.N. filmstrip on the Declaration of Human Rights have been shown and discussed during the first semester's work.

In an article, "Basic Issues and Problems of the Freshman History Course," in *Social Education*, (December, 1951), Sydney H. Zebel, of Rutgers University, has raised a very disturbing problem in any scheme of instruction in general education in the social studies. It is the considerable knowledge of the various social sciences which is demanded of the instructor and the students. He asks how many of us in truth have such knowledge. This is the Achilles heel of general education in the social studies. All of us prefer to tackle less confusing problems than what the current world crisis presents to us as American citizens. Yet there is no escape from our responsibilities in understanding and facing up to the fundamental issues in the modern world, by whatever academic title or credit we may give such a course.

The Curse of the Textbook

JOHN F. OHLES

Elk River High School, Elk River, Minnesota

The curse of my American history classes and of my teaching is the blue-covered, biased, inflexible, and deficient textbook. Wavering between dry, detailed, and wordy treatises to

profusely-illustrated but sketchy outlines that glory in generalizations and retreat from dates and facts, the texts propose to adhere to the latest fad of Professor Whozits from Nomore

State Teachers College, whose classroom experience is limited to a stiff session of practice teaching in the Precocious Experimental High School at "good old NSTC."

The critics of American education, and social studies courses in particular, can justifiably point an accusing finger and quote the irrefutable statistics of our ill-informed and indifferent electorate at the polls and recite again that American men have died, and may again, ignorant of the great principles for which their lives are spent. If any teacher doubts the accuracy of such criticism, an attempt to discuss American history and problems with the average citizen across an informal cup of coffee should jar such lethargic pedagogs out of their fantasy.

Just what is wrong with our texts? Well first of all, they try to be "all things to all men" and end up being nothing to most. In order to serve the average student, they prove to be over the heads of the duller, and fail to furnish any challenge to the upper strata. In order to confine themselves to the maximum number of pages, yet include as much material as possible while crowding in an illustration per page, the texts have become reciters of facts without the window-dressing that makes those facts interesting, or all window-dressing and no facts.

The texts do not fit into a course of study, but determine what such a course of study should be. Regardless of the judgment of "experts" in the field, the interests and abilities of the pupils, should determine the course of study to be followed. Certainly this would put a great deal of responsibility on the individual teacher, but who can honestly question that the responsibility does not belong there?

Because they must appeal to a national patronage, the texts fail to recognize regional interests and hence tend to be less interesting for all. True enough, the national picture demands the strongest emphasis but it is equally true that a regional approach to national issues is more realistic and interesting. Of even greater importance as far as interest and realism in history are concerned, is the complete neglect of the state and local story in the present system. The greatest opportunity

to make citizens and future citizens aware of their position in our government and society is to convince them that they are an important segment of those divisions. This must be done on a local or state level.

More distressing than anything else is the rapid outdated of the books. Of course, one expects them to be a little outdated even when they come off the press, but the obsolescence becomes a distinct handicap when books must be used several years. No wonder confusion over recent history is rampant when texts are invariably wrong about many important issues.

A glance over one of the better high school American history texts may reveal a little of the frustration one feels. The chapters are haphazardly arranged with political, social, economic, and military history mingled so that each is divided into unrelated segments. Some segments are drawn out, hashed and rehashed, while others are slurred over, or completely ignored. As an example, the political history from 1804 to 1856 is condensed in a seven-page segment one hundred and sixty-five pages after the discussion of the election of 1800. Social and cultural history segments are unrelatedly sandwiched among the chapters. Military history has become a listing of battles which ignores the human greed and sacrifice or cowardice and heroism that make wars and battles personal tragedies rather than cold, impersonal names. In many other ways, this and other texts fail to provide adequate and flexible teaching instruments.

What might I offer as an alternative? Surely, I wouldn't propose a monumental work of thousands of pages; and, anyway, that would still be rapidly outdated. Lectures are out of the question. Or, is this merely a criticism without an answer? My proposal is certainly no panacea, but I believe it would be of more value than the present textbooks. I would propose a series of booklets, bound for easy substitution or addition of pages. To facilitate handling, the students might be given one sturdy binder in which they would alternately keep the booklet covering the unit they are studying. Each booklet would contain a section devoted to a thorough, but simplified, survey of the material, which would aim to furnish

The Cesspool of
American Culture

the minimum amount of information to the duller students. The rest of the booklet would contain additional information, supplementing the main survey and written in the attractive and understandable style that is typical of historical articles in *Reader's Digest*. This supplementary material would be of a progressively higher level of understanding into the complexities of American history and life. Thus, in one package, the various levels of ability could be provided for. The students of higher ability may be expected to read the supplementary material, first because they have an intellectual curiosity and secondly, because the material is interesting.

Inasmuch as the booklets provide for simple substitution or addition of pages they may be easily kept up to date. This feature also allows for the regional, state, or local emphasis that would make history more personal and real. The ability to arrange the units into any sequence desired provides for a flexible course of study that may be adapted to the needs of teachers and students. In short, the booklet system seems to do everything that the textbook can never do. The total number of pages in all the booklets combined would go well over the thickest high school text printed, yet the dull students' minimum amount would probably be much less.

Would publishers agree to this arrangement? Why not? Certainly, there is less expense involved in printing booklets, than books. Arrangements could be made in a five, ten, or what-have-you year arrangement for revising the booklets and keeping them up to date. Whether the entire process would cost less than textbooks is relatively unimportant compared to the more extensive use of the booklets. At least, if the publishing industry in general did not cater to the change, some of the highly competitive industry would.

This does not mean that textbooks would become extinct. Teachers with more than one preparation, particularly in the smaller schools, would use texts because of time limitations. In larger schools, however, the booklets should be used, particularly as those teachers have the training and ability to make the best use of their materials and more accurately evaluate the needs of their classes.

Perhaps, some day the curse of the textbook will be lifted. Perhaps, education can be brought to the students, rather than to merely bring the students to education. Some day we may be able to offer a one-packaged course of study for all students from the duller to the brightest. Some day teachers may be able to teach the subject instead of the book. Perhaps—well, perhaps some day we can personalize and dramatize our education.

The Teachers' Page

HYMAN M. BOODISH

Chairman, Social Studies Department, Dobbins Vocational-Technical School, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Every year there is held in Philadelphia an educational conference, sponsored by The Philadelphia Teachers Association, an organization of teachers, supervisors and administrators in the Philadelphia school system. The series of separate meetings is generally preceded by a keynote or central theme address, delivered by some outstanding educator. The

1952 Conference was held on December 6, at the Central High School. The speaker selected to deliver the keynote speech was Dr. Abraham L. Sachar, President, Brandeis University, Waltham, Massachusetts. The topic of Dr. Sachar's address was: "In Defense of Tomorrow." The assemblage of teachers was obviously stirred by the address. We hope that

we can, with the aid of our notes, reconstruct and transmit part of the content and the spirit of Dr. Sachar's uplifting message.

IN DEFENSE OF TOMORROW

Dr. Sachar spoke first of the need for educators to create a "spiritual climate" in which our young people could work out their destinies with hope and with courage. There are many problems, he stated, which our society faces today relating to economics, politics, technology, and social living; but the problem which is perhaps of greatest concern to teachers, whose charges are our young people, is the problem of creating this spiritual climate. As president of a small university, Dr. Sachar is naturally concerned, as all teachers are, with the healthy growth and development of this country's youth. The one observation above all others which disturbs him is the "abysmal insecurity and anxiety" of college students. We might add that this is also true of many young people in the upper grades of our high schools. It is ironic, he continued, that even though our country has the highest material standard of living ever achieved by any country in the history of the world, its young people should feel so insecure.

Yet, there is reason for this anxiety. What relevancy is there to studying the many subjects offered in our high schools and colleges when young people have to give up the most fruitful years of their lives for the "sterility of militarism"? Young men and women feel trapped. They feel as if they are no longer in control of their individual destinies. Impersonal forces pull the strings which direct their lives.

What is our task as teachers? It is not an easy one, but it is the goal on which we should set our sights. We must try to "get youth off the mourners' bench." We must provide them with a climate of confidence in which they can develop their talents. We must help them to get rid of defeatist attitudes and of feelings of despair. Dr. Sachar then outlined and discussed four ingredients of this affirmative and spiritual climate.

1. *The presence of problems in a society is not a sign of decadence.*

Too many people in our country today look back upon the period of the 1890's as the "golden age" and the "Shangri-la" of our

history. We lived then in an ideal state of unconcern about world problems. We were little disturbed by events which disturb us now as, for example, who becomes prime minister of France or Iran. The world was not our responsibility. Today, we are the most powerful nation in the world. Power makes some people "swell" and others grow. World leadership has been thrust into our hands. With power and leadership comes responsibility and aggravation. Dr. Sachar compared the growing problems of a maturing nation with those of a maturing family. The richness of life, he stated, is reflected in the variety and complexity of problems, not in their absence. The existence of problems is not a sign of decadence, but a sign of growth and maturity.

2. *The need for a larger perspective.*

The central core of this second ingredient of an affirmative climate is the need for people to think not of the great difficulties they have now, but of the greater difficulties they have escaped. The Korean War and the many other dislocations we face today are seriously disturbing, but think of what we faced when the Japanese struck at Pearl Harbor and when Churchill spoke of blood, sweat, and tears, as democracy's principal weapons that would have to be used to defeat the Nazi scourge.

Dr. Sachar spoke of the perspective of parents when the "wings of the angel of death" hover over their child stricken with polio; how relatively insignificant are the other problems of life in comparison. He spoke of this larger perspective of the parents continuing for a period of time when the child recovers and is spared the crippling effects of the disease. But, this perspective wears off and the "ulcers return."

A nation responds the same way as people when a kind of "cosmic polio," as a Pearl Harbor, strikes it. But, later, the nation also forgets. It is not possible, Dr. Sachar continued, "to turn off the forces of hate and destruction and return to normal living." A "little fever" must remain in the body politic. We must recognize that ambivalent forces are at work in our world. There are high ideals and desires and there are imperfections—pus bags which have to be cleared up. However, we need a

perspective which will differentiate between the best, the better, and the worst. If you do not get the best, you do not necessarily get the worst. Some people associate the better with the worst. If they do not get the best, they want to "move over to some *ism* or *wasm*." Let us not compare the better we have with the worst we have escaped. Let us not confuse the inadequacy of progress with retrogression.

3. *We have made too much of peace of mind.*

The extent to which people have been seeking "the wonderful feeling of serenity and ease" was reflected several years ago in the tremendous sale of Joshua Loth Liebman's book, *Peace of Mind*. It seems that people have become tired of the incessant pounding they have been receiving the last several years. They want to turn back from and escape the responsibilities facing them. The concept of peace of mind, therefore, seems very inviting. Dr. Liebman, however, did not mean by his "peace of mind" the escaping from responsibility, but a "mature facing of the difficulties we have."

Dr. Sachar related a story of World War II as reported in a despatch by Leland Stowe. It concerned a Finnish soldier who was wounded during the Russian invasion of Finland. Talking to the American correspondent, the soldier stated that his principal fear was not the obvious superiority of the Russians. He felt confident that his countrymen would be able to work out the necessary defenses in time. What he feared most was that he, and symbolically his country, would yield to the temptation of falling asleep when in pain. Suffering, pain, sorrow, are not easy to take. There is a strong temptation to yield to sleep—peace of mind—when they are present. We are reminded of Hamlet's soliloquy, "to sleep perchance to dream."

"When there is no pain, death is near," Dr. Sachar stated. The goal of democracy is not serenity, ease, and peace of mind, but adequacy and fulfillment. Democracy is full of pitfalls and challenges. Peace of mind must not become a fetish which will blind our sensitivity to life.

4. *Restore the dignity of man.*

The fourth ingredient of building an affirmative climate is to avoid further *de-meaning* of man. Dr. Sachar paid tribute to the great contributions made by the newer disciplines of psychology and anthropology towards a better understanding of the nature of man and society. But, he felt that in each of these disciplines, as well as in the older discipline of history, there is a "peripheral fringe of extremists" which interprets man only in terms of glands and chemistry; which looks upon history as an inevitable repetition of cycles; which regards man simply "as an automaton or robot confined by his destiny." Dr. Sachar did not intend his words to be taken as a belittlement of the profound and liberating contributions of the newer sciences. He felt that there has been this strong tendency to *de-mean* and *degrade* man and that we want to restore the dignity that is man's.

Summarizing, Dr. Sachar stated that we are living in an inter-regnant period, with one foot in a world that is aborning and the other foot in the world that has not yet dissolved. The transition is difficult and the result is anxiety and insecurity. As guides and mentors of young people it is our responsibility to inject in them a kind of "spiritual adrenalin" which will help create the affirmative climate they need. If we can do this well, we will "not solve problems, but create conditions where problems are solvable."

Visual and Other Aids

IRWIN A. ECKHAUSER

Washington Junior High School, Mt. Vernon, New York

Almost 2400 16 mm. films are available on a free loan basis to groups wishing to use them.

The films cover practically everything. The films which are available from more than 750

different business concerns, organizations, and governmental agencies throughout the country, deal with such varied topics as the training of workers for a job, travel, sports, economics, health, and safety. Varied individual films are intended for entertainment, training and public information. More than half these films are in color. *The Handbook of Free Films* is 237 pages long, cloth bound for durability. It may be secured from Allman Associates, 509 Fifth Avenue, New York 17, N. Y.

FILMS

Report on the Atom. 19 minutes. Sale. March of Time Forum Films, 369 Lexington Ave., New York 17, N. Y.

Shows the non-military uses of atomic energy.

Atomic Power. 19 minutes. Sale. March of Time Forum Films.

This film goes into the history and nature of atomic energy.

Understanding the Chinese. (all pre-Communist). 10 minutes. Sale. Assoc. Film Artists, 30 N. Raymond Ave., Pasadena, Calif.

Depicts life in China and the significance of Chinese culture.

Farming in South China—The Si River. 22 minutes. Sale. United World Films, 1445 Park Ave., New York 29, N. Y.

In densely populated agricultural areas, land is scarce, farming is primitive, and poverty prevails.

Peiping Family. 21 minutes. Sale. International Film Foundation, 1600 Broadway, New York 19, N. Y.

Reveals the life of a middle class Chinese family.

Children of China. 11 minutes. Sale or rent. Encyclopaedia Britannica Films, Wilmette, Ill.

Home, school, and play life of children in a typical inland Chinese family.

The King's Life Guard. 9 minutes. Sale or rental. British Information Services, 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York 20, N. Y.

Shows in detail the ceremony of the changing of the guard, the barracks of the troops, and their preparations, etc.

Forward A Century. 30 minutes. Black and

white. Sale or rental. British Information Services.

Presenting a contrasted picture of industrial and social life in Great Britain in terms of the Exhibitions of 1851 and 1951.

The Titan. 67 minutes. Sale. Contemporary Films, Inc., 13 E. 37 St., New York, N. Y.

This is a film biography of Michaelangelo, the sculptor and painter whose work dominated the Italian Renaissance.

A Time for Greatness. 27 minutes. Sale. Association Films, 347 Madison Ave., New York, N. Y.

Gives a critical analysis of United States post-war foreign policy.

It Takes Everybody to Build This Land. 22 minutes. Sale. Encyclopaedia Britannica Films.

The theme of interdependence of all people is studied with emphasis on food, shelter, and clothing.

Notes on the Port of St. Francis. 22 minutes. Sale. A. F. Films, 1600 Broadway, New York, N. Y.

The varied beauties and unique attractions of San Francisco are displayed.

Life in Great Britain Today. 13 minutes each. Latest addition are 3 color films. McGraw-Hill Publ. Co., Text-Film Dept., New York, N. Y.

Sadlers Wells Ballerina . . . reveals the work undertaken by a young aspiring ballet dancer.

English Farm Family . . . depicts a modern British farm and the family that makes it a success.

British Mill Owner . . . the story of a new type of industrial executive being developed in Britain.

Coral Wonderland. 30 minutes. The Australian News and Information Bureau, 636 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y.

Film goes on a journey in and around the sea surrounding the "Great Barrier Reef" in Australia.

This Modern Age. 20 minutes each. A series of films created to express and interpret important areas of contemporary life. Sale. British Information Services.

Antarctic Whale Hunt . . . records the work

of a factory ship used in the hunting and killing of whales.

True Face of Japan . . . examines the changes effected in Japan by five years of American occupation and the meaning of such changes to other nations.

The Waking Point. 20 minutes. Sale. British Information Services.

A dramatization stressing the need for trained civilian aides during a threatening wartime crisis.

Caribbean. 25 minutes. Sale. British Information Services.

A camera inspection of topography, labor, politics, and social traditions in the British West Indies.

World Balance of Power. Black and white. 20 minutes. Sale or rental. Encyclopaedia Britannica Films.

Discusses the principle of world balance of power as the foundation of national independence and international peace in the modern world.

FILMSTRIPS

Report on the Cold War. 58 frames. Illustrated with photographs, maps and charts. Sale. Office of Educational Activities, The New York Times, Times Sq., New York, N. Y.

Traces the history of the cold war from its early days right after World War II up to the present.

The Great Explorers Series. 12 full length strips, over 500 full color frames.

Depicts great men—how they lived—what they did—how their exploits helped influence history. Young America Films, Inc., 18 E. 41 St., New York 17, N. Y.

SET I

John Cabot
Hernando Cortez
Lewis and Clark
Ferdinand Magellan
Jacques Marquette
Marco Polo

SET II

Samuel Champlain
Christopher Columbus
Francisco Coronado
Hernando De Soto
Sir Francis Drake
Henry Hudson

Declaration of Independence. 54 frames. Sale Pictorial Events, 597 Fifth Ave., New York 17, N. Y.

Story sessions are revealed with Thomas Jefferson, John Adams, and Benjamin Franklin assigned to draw up a declaration of independence.

The Constitution of the United States. 90 frames. Pictorial Events.

See the conflicts among the colonies resulting from weak government; differences in currency, and disunion among the states.

The Bill of Rights. 82 frames. Sale. Pictorial Events.

See American patriots protesting against the high-handed decrees of the government.

RADIO

America United. (NBC) 12:00-12:30 P.M. Sundays.

Discussions of currently important problems in labor, agriculture, and industry.

United or Not. (ABC) 9:00-9:30 P.M. Mondays.

Interviews with prominent UN representatives by members of the UN Correspondents Association.

Reporters' Roundup. (MBS) 9:30-10:00 P.M. Thursdays.

Presents a group of radio and newspaper reporters in interviews with a newsmaker of the day.

RECORDINGS

The Nat'l Association of Secondary Principals, 1201-16 St., N.W., Washington, D. C. has recordings available from the "Cavalcade of America" series. 25-30 minutes per title, Size A-records at 78 rpm; Size-B-at 33 1/3 rpm.

As A Man Thinketh . . . Features Thomas Cooper's struggle to maintain for Americans their right for free opinion, and his challenge of the Alien and Sedition Laws.

Valley Forge . . . Maxwell Anderson's radio drama depicting George Washington's realization of the hopelessness of the war.

Susan B. Anthony . . . Events in the life of the great inspiring leader for women's emancipation.

Jane Addams of Hull House . . . Dramatization of events, scenes at Hull House during the life of Jane Addams.

News and Comment

R. T. SOLIS-COHEN

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

LOYALTY OATHS

The problem of loyalty oaths for teachers is discussed in an article by Benjamin Fine in the *New York Sunday Times* of December 21, 1952, following a decision of the United States Supreme Court which brought the loyalty oath into the news.

The Court held unconstitutional an Oklahoma law requiring state employees to take a loyalty oath.

In its decision the Supreme Court maintained that the unconstitutional state statute did not safeguard persons who, innocently, had joined organizations that have since been listed as subversive.

Mr. Fine points out that the Oklahoma case involved only the validity of a local law with certain unique provisions and that the Court's findings cannot easily be applied to loyalty requirements set up by laws of other states.

As Educational Editor of the *New York Times*, Mr. Fine made a survey of the opinions of prominent educators concerning the subject of loyalty oaths. In general educators are opposed to loyalty oaths for teachers because they object to being singled out as a profession. They believe that this singling out puts them in an inferior position. However, educators oppose the employment of a teacher who is in any way subversive or a member of the Communist party.

Other objections to loyalty oaths for teachers were stated. For example:

An oath would not make a teacher a better citizen.

The mere signing of a paper would not change a person's viewpoint.

The small fraction of teachers whose loyalty

was questionable could be eliminated by more effective methods.

The oath is based on a presumption of guilt, which is contrary to the United States Constitution. Non-loyalty oaths are alien to America and contrary to American legal and constitutional principles. The loyalty oath would stifle freedom of thought because it would create an atmosphere of fear and suspicion. The latter would interfere with the forthright expression of any subject which might be considered controversial.

One prominent educator, Dr. Katharine E. McBride, president of Bryn Mawr College, stated that loyalty oaths are not an effective bar to the Communists.

Another educator, the executive vice chancellor of New York University, Dr. David D. Henry, said that since subversives are not likely to hesitate to tell an untruth, loyalty oaths, in general, are an ineffectual way of dealing with disloyalty. Their only possible value is to lay the groundwork for perjury as a cause for dismissal.

RACIAL SEGREGATION

The Editorial Note in the Fall, 1952, issue of *The Journal of Negro Education*, in discussing some issues in the segregated school cases, points out that the lower courts are definitely of the opinion that it is up to the U.S. Supreme Court to overrule the "separate but equal" doctrine in education enunciated by the Court in 1896. According to this principle "where educational facilities are equal the separation of white and Negro children is constitutional."

Benjamin Fine, the Educational Editor of the *New York Times* says (Sunday, December 14, 1952) that the crux of the five school cases now before the Supreme Court is the psychological factor.

The Court was asked to end the school segregation now in effect in seventeen Southern and border states and in the District of Columbia. The five school cases mentioned above originated in South Carolina, Virginia, Kansas, Delaware and the District of Columbia. The Supreme Court is being asked for the first time to rule upon the laws in the Southern states that prohibit Negro children from attending "white" schools. The Court has previously ruled that Negroes are to be admitted to the state universities where adequate educational facilities are lacking in the state for non-white students.

The leader in the campaign for non-segregation is the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People which goes beyond the demand for equal intellectual conditions. Its goal is equal emotional conditions. Its attorney, Thurgood Marshall, maintained that segregation itself was undesirable, regardless of the type of school facilities provided. Mr. Marshall maintained that segregation made the Negro children feel that they were of an inferior race and humiliated them. This, it seemed to him, was much more serious than physical facilities, teaching standards or curricula of the schools. "Equal educational opportunity does not stop with equal physical facilities."

Concerning the Supreme Court decisions which held that segregation of Negro students at the University of Oklahoma (*McLaurin v. Oklahoma State Regents*) and at the University of Texas (*Sweatt v. Painter*) was unconstitutional, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People pointed out that in these instances more than the available educational facilities were considered by the justices. The latter raised the question of such intangibles as prestige, teaching standards and academic surroundings.

To buttress their position, the N.A.A.C.P. has enlisted the assistance of thirty-two expert social scientists and educators who prepared a statement which has been filed in behalf of the N.A.A.C.P. This statement cites the "effects of segregation and the consequences of de-segregation."

"The psychiatrists, psychologists, sociolo-

gists and other educators agreed that 'regardless of facilities which are provided, enforced segregation is psychologically detrimental to the members of the segregated group.' They also held that it was detrimental to members of the majority group. In their opinion, segregation can be removed without 'outbreaks of violence.'"

In response to these arguments three Southern states, South Carolina, Georgia and Mississippi, warned that they would abandon the public school system before they admitted Negroes to their white schools.

The issue of segregation as outlined before the Supreme Court transcends the constitutional grounds of physical equality. It is concerned with the question of "inferiority" of race. Although the final decision may not be handed down for some months, it will have great social and educational impact.

BROTHERHOOD

In contrast to the bitterness of segregation and discrimination, it is refreshing to find an article such as J. Ida Jiggetts' "Israelis Are Color Blind" in *Land Reborn* which is published by the American Christian Palestine Committee.

Mrs. Jiggetts, an American Negro and the daughter of a Methodist minister and teacher, visited Israel in a workshop on the Life and Culture of Israel. Deeply interested in the diversity of racial and ethnic groups in Israel, she plans to write her doctoral thesis on the Yemenite Jews who are brown and resemble East Indians in appearance. She notes that they are classified with the Caucasian or white Jews rather than with the Ethiopian or "black" Falasha Jews from Abyssinia, East Africa. The latter do not migrate to Israel in great numbers because they are not oppressed in Ethiopia.

Mrs. Jiggetts notes that the Israelis identify people according to their country of origin, regardless of their race or color. She commented upon their references to Dr. Ralph Bunche as "the great American," to his ability and accomplishments and never to his race.

LETTERS EDUCATE YOUTH ABOUT UNITED NATIONS

A novel form of education about the United Nations, with features that appeal to stamp

collectors, is now being executed by Louise Jackson Wright, director of public relations at Finch College, 52 E. 78 St.

Mrs. Wright is attending sessions of the General Assembly now meeting at U.N. headquarters and writing a series of letters this fall and winter to young people throughout the United States and in some foreign countries. Her letters emphasize informality in the presentation of news about the United Nations and are liberally illustrated with photographs of persons she meets in the various delegations and Secretariat divisions. Upon adjournment of the General Assembly she will attend and report on sessions of Councils and Commissions in the U.N.

Each letter begins with a personal salutation and is mailed at the United Nations Post Office in an individual envelope addressed to the recipient's home. U.N. stamps in a variety of denominations are used on the envelopes, the first of which bears the 5 cent commemorative marking the U.N.'s seventh anniversary. On her list to receive letters are many adult, as well as youthful, philatelists who like to collect U.N. stamps in this way.

Entirely impartial in her reports and observations, Mrs. Wright refrains from taking sides on issues and avoids propaganda of any kind. Her purpose is to spread knowledge about

the U.N. and stimulate interest in its ideals and goals. She reports interviews on non-controversial topics with delegates and Secretariat and their families, especially the children, whose photographs appear in the letters' margins. The Special Services Division, Department of Public Information of the U.N., checks her letters for accuracy before they are mailed, although the project is not an official U.N. one. Mrs. Wright endeavors to combine human interest and educational features in her letters, which are mailed to young people and adults who request them.

STUDY TOUR TO JAPAN

San Francisco State College offers 6 units of college credit in Social Science and Humanities in its Summer, 1953, Japan Study-tour aboard the American President liners, *President Cleveland* and *President Wilson*. The tour leaves San Francisco on June 22 and returns August 27, with stops at Honolulu, Yokohama, Manila, Hongkong, and Kobe, in addition to 27 days of travel in Japan. Tour members will meet Japanese political, social, and cultural leaders, and will visit points of beauty and historical importance.

Inquiries should be addressed to Japan Study-tour, Dr. Theodore E. Treutlein, Professor of History, San Francisco State College.

Book Reviews and Book Notes

DAVID W. HARR

Head, Department of Social Studies, Abraham Lincoln High School, Philadelphia

Foreigners in the Union Army and Navy. By Ella Lonn. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1951. Pp. ix, 725. Appendix, bibliography, index. \$8.50.

Miss Lonn's new book was designed as a companion to her study of *Foreigners in the Confederacy*, published in 1940. The title of the new work is misleading for this is far more than a study in military history. Through prodigious research in letters, diaries, official

reports, and foreign language newspapers the author has given us a cross section of life in the North during the Civil War years. An interesting discussion of the attitudes of the immigrant groups toward the many political issues raised by the war is followed by descriptions of recruiting, both at home and abroad, as well as army organization, camp life, medical care, and action on the battlefield. When it is remembered that over one fifth of all the men

in the Union service were foreign-born the magnitude of Dr. Lonn's task is apparent.

In detailing the careers of Polish noblemen, Hungarian patriots, English soldiers of fortune, and the plain people of all nationalities who joined the Union Army and Navy the author has revealed the full complexity of the motives which lead men to war. Here is a Swede who felt indebted to his adopted country and sought to repay its largesse with military service. Then the German who saw the war as a moral struggle against slavery. Dr. Lonn discovered Irishmen who joined in the hope of somehow using their new arms and organization in striking a blow against England. She found mercenaries, "knights-errant," and volunteers, as well as draftees, draft dodgers, bounty men and bounty jumpers among the foreign-born.

Far too much space is devoted, however, to the details of the careers of obscure military figures. One or two illustrations would have served the same purpose as the sketches of over twenty brigadier generals, thirty colonels, and innumerable lesser officers. A reader soon comes to the conclusion that years of research and the joy of tracking down obscure figures in the Union service have dulled the author's discrimination.

There is a more serious defect in this book that no amount of editing could have eliminated. The author has sought to ascribe traits and characteristics to the various foreign-born groups she studied. She frequently mentions the "genius" of this group or the "instinct" of that one. The Irish are "improvident, . . . impetuous, . . . [and] intemperate." [pp. 647-48]. The Germans are "patient, philosophical, and plodding" [p. 648]. The Scandinavians were "cool" and acted with "deliberation in danger" [p. 651]. Yet scattered all through Professor Lonn's account is ample evidence that eagerness and apathy, courage and cowardice, dash and deliberation were characteristic of men at war regardless of place of birth. If national traits do exist, neither the natural nor the social scientists have learned how to measure them.

It will please no one but a small group of unreconstructed Confederates to see Miss Lonn use the word Negro with a lower case *n* when

dictionaries have long since abandoned that usage.

This book will remain a valuable reference item for the specialist in the Civil War but will be of little interest to the general student of American history.

DAVID S. SPARKS

University of Maryland
College Park, Maryland

The Co-operative Movement and Some of Its Problems. By Paul Hubert Casselman. New York: Philosophical Library, 1952. Pp. xiii, 178. \$3.00.

Notwithstanding its size, this small volume may be said to make a significant contribution in its field. At the outset, it should be understood that Dr. Casselman considers consumers' co-operatives to be the basic type. Other types of co-operation are mentioned only incidentally.

Instead of "co-operation," or the "co-operative movement," the terms "co-operatism" and "co-operativism" are frequently employed.

As the author explains, co-operatism is primarily an economic system, but differs essentially from socialism, communism, and syndicalism. After pointing out that the co-operative movement was born of the economic miseries of the 1840's, Dr. Casselman continues:

The Rochdale Pioneers helped themselves, . . . because no one else would. They had to rely on their own energy and efforts. . . . Their ideal of self-help is given practical expression in the movement by the following policies:

a) The rejection of government aid and of useless state intervention in co-operative affairs.

b) The rejection of special privileges from the government, or from other agencies which would render it difficult for the movement to stand on its own feet. (3-4)

Nevertheless, the author devotes an entire chapter to the question of taxation of co-operatives, maintaining that the taxing authorities should take in to consideration the fundamental differences existing between the co-operative and the ordinary commercial enterprise. He writes:

Business for service is the most important

principle of the co-operative movement. Once this is grasped, it permits us to distinguish clearly between profit business and co-operative business. This principle contains the economic motive of co-operative enterprise. (135)

Dr. Casselman belongs to the so-called "competitive yardstick school" of the co-operative movement. This school holds that the co-operative will never become the dominant economic institution anywhere. An important function of the co-operative, however, is to cause profit-making business to curb its excesses. In this way an economic balance will be attained, each type of enterprise remaining in the community.

Co-operatism, as the author points out, differs from socialism, communism, and syndicalism. Membership and withdrawal in a co-operative are entirely voluntary. Since members are free to purchase, or not to purchase, from their own group, education, rather than coercion, must be employed to bring about loyalty.

Among countries having notable co-operative activities are Great Britain, Sweden, Denmark, Germany, Japan, Canada, and the United States. In the two last mentioned, an attitude of indifference is said to be noticeable. This is attributed to the relatively high standard of living prevailing in these countries.

Certain universities in France and Belgium have set up faculties of co-operatism, and several universities in the United States and Canada are giving attention to the leadership phase in the co-operative movement. St. Francis Xavier University in Nova Scotia is said to have the most comprehensive co-operative educational program of any in the world. (37)

With regard to co-operatives and government aid, among other things, Dr. Casselman writes:

But what profit enterprise seems to forget is that in any case the help given co-operatives by the state is negligible when compared with what it is itself receiving now. . . . The "self-help" co-operative can exist, and even flourish, without government aid, whereas profit enterprise in numerous instances . . . could not continue to operate

without the helping hand of the government.

. . . Laws regulating bankruptcy, monopoly, imports and tariffs, legislation curbing unfair competition . . . operate to the advantage of profit business. (145)

"Co-operatism and Socialism" is the title of a most thought-provoking chapter. To begin with, the author in the chapter heading uses this quotation from Mencken: "Socialism is simply the degenerate capitalism of bankrupt capitalists." Co-operatism, instead of condemning private property, as does socialism, considers it a necessary good. Co-operatism holds that too many people do not have sufficient private property. (92)

With an air of finality, the author proclaims:

Co-operatives are, without a doubt, one of the most efficient antidotes man has ever found against state paternalism. A study of the effects of co-operative development in the Central States of the United States, in the Maritime Provinces of Canada, and in the Gaspé Peninsula will substantiate this statement. (144)

This is an interesting book with an ample bibliography.

J. F. SANTEE, PH.D.

Oregon College of Education
Monmouth, Oregon

The Growth of Democracy. By Edna McGuire and Don C. Rodgers. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1952. Pp. iv, 428. \$2.50.

A seventh grade book in the Democracy series, revised. Junior High School teachers of Social Studies will find this book very fine for use in 7th grade level. It is interesting to the pupils, filled with suggestions for activities and the choice of words is outstanding for the proper reading level of pupils.

Underground. The Story of a People. By Joseph Tenenbaum. New York: Philosophical Library, 1952. Pp. ix, 532. \$4.50.

This is the history of the tragic end of Polish and other Eastern European Jewry. While it is neither a pleasant story nor one with a happy ending, it is a true one, and neither the recording historian nor the vitally affected contemporary world can afford to look the other way if an ugly truth presents itself.

No future historian will be able to write the history of Twentieth Century Western Civilization without pondering about the vileness and depravity of which man is capable and into which he may sink. The author raises the fundamental question as to the ease with which "atavistic prejudice could succeed in uprooting age-old taboos and shedding the veneer of . . . civilization" (viii).

The theme of this book is the mass murder of six million Jews, half of whom were Polish Jews, and their annihilation in Poland which was selected by the Nazis to become a torture chamber and mass grave for all Jewry. The story is told in as measured and restrained a tone as is humanly possible for one who, a Jew himself, devoted to his people, is aghast at the magnitude of the crime. The picture presented is that of an unequal fight with the Germans, of a people dispersed, defenseless, surrounded by a largely hostile or indifferent Polish population—among which are few real friends—with little more left than a love for members of their family which only approaching death may bring out, and a fighting spirit. What is told is the story of the resistance of a people who continue fighting long after the destruction of the Warsaw Ghetto in its rabble, literally in the "Underground." The Jews, it emerges clearly, fought back against their tormentors whenever possible, and the ghetto uprising in Warsaw was merely the climax of numberless and desperate efforts to make the enemy pay as dearly as possible. While stressing the heroism of Jewish fighters and the significance of Jewish resistance, there is no tendency to exaggerate the losses which they were able to inflict on the Germans.

The author of this book is a Polish Jew, noted civic leader, thoroughly conversant with the problems of Polish Jews and of Poland in general between the two World Wars. Soon after Poland's liberation from the German yoke he returned to his native land. He has based his account on numerous interviews and individual affidavits taken from Jewish survivors, on diaries and other hitherto unpublished manuscripts—documents which were buried and have been unearthed, breathing still hotly fear, despair and hope, and resolve. The author

has also used extensively other accounts written largely in Yiddish or Hebrew as well as the Trial of the Major War Criminals. He has presented thus a comprehensive account of the death struggle of Polish Jewry.

"A great creative center of Jewish learning, poetry, fiction, art and material welfare has been lost to humanity" with the destruction of Polish and Eastern European Jewry. Yet the chain of existence of the Jewish people, the author asserts, has not been broken completely. "A new sun is rising. Jewish youth from Poland, former partisans, concentration camp victims and ghetto fighters who have survived the Nazi slaughter, are now fighting and working in and for Israel . . . The eternal people, broken, shattered, decimated, yet alive with hope and imbued with zeal, are returning home" (515). It is on this note of hope that the account ends.

ALFRED D. LOW

Marietta College
Marietta, Ohio

American Urban Communities. By Wilbur C. Hallenbeck. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1951. Pp. xi, 617. \$6.00.

This new text is a comprehensive work in urban sociology, as indicated by the major divisions of the table of contents: The Rise of American Cities, External Relationships of Cities, the Form and Structure of Cities, Organized Life in Cities, Patterns of Urban Structure, People in Cities, Cities and the Future.

Among its noteworthy features: a wealth of graphic materials; the use of 1950 Census data, thus incorporating the tremendous urban changes in the 1940-1950 decade; the interesting manner in which the book is written, in part because it is aimed both at college classes and at all groups interested in "making cities better places in which to live, to work, and to find the fuller satisfactions of living."

Sociologically, the book has two serious shortcomings. First, very little is included from ecological theory and analysis, although this has been one of the most fruitful approaches in 20th Century urban studies. Secondly, the treatment of urban social class

systems is inadequate in view of the amount of information accumulated along this line in recent years.

In all, this is a valuable addition to the text material in this field. Anyone interested in social aspects of cities will find it profitable and enjoyable reading.

JOHN E. JACOBI

Lehigh University
Bethlehem, Pa.

The Sociology of Urban Life. By T. Lynn Smith and C. A. McMahan. New York: The Dryden Press, 1951. Pp. xiii, 831. \$5.50.

It is the purpose of the authors to provide for an advanced urban sociology course a textbook combining a substantial amount of theoretical discussion with selections from both the classics in the field and newer research studies. Each of the twenty-five chapters is introduced by an original discussion by the authors, contains from one to six readings, and concludes with a good bibliography and a short list of class projects.

The book suffers, in the reviewer's judgment, from several serious shortcomings. Urban ecology—perhaps the major contribution of urban sociologists—receives only minimum attention, though the specially prepared reading "Ecological Patterns of European Cities" is a welcome addition. Suburbanization—perhaps the most significant current trend in city life—receives no attention at all; neither "suburb" nor "suburbanization" appears in the index, and only three pages are specifically devoted to metropolitan areas. The over-emphasis on southern cities seems to introduce a new parochialism in urban sociology. There is practically no use of 1950 Census data.

On the other hand, the population material is extensive. The introductory discussions may be found especially useful by those who do not have a wide background in sociological theory. Finally, it should be said that the format makes this one of the most handsome textbooks that has come to the reviewer's attention.

WAYNE C. NEELY

Hood College
Frederick, Maryland

Political Ethics and the Voter. Edited by Thomas A. Rousse. New York: The H. W. Wilson Company, 1952. Pp. 181. \$1.75.

This is a book that is definitely needed in this election year. It presents the unsavoury truth in facts and figures without the fanfare of newspaper headlines or radio politics.

The leaders of public opinion whose articles appear in the book are Stuart Chase, David Lawrence, Herbert Hoover, Dorothy Thompson, Paul H. Douglas and William Fulbright. The overall picture is not pretty, but it has been worse. Human nature and the high percentage of citizens who declaim loudly but fail to vote are the principal offenders.

Contributing factors are, of course, multi-billion dollar budgets, the spoils system and the practice of paying off political debts with high office. The effects of pressure groups, underworld tie-ups, and large campaign contributions are also shown.

The first half of the book presents the current situation and the remainder is devoted to "Causes and Remedies" with a descriptive summary of recommendations.

This book should be considered a "needed" book, a book that the electorate needs to read to raise our political ethics.

DAVID W. HARR

Lincoln High School
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Doctors in Blue. By George Worthington Adams. New York: Henry Schuman, 1952. Pp. 253. \$4.00.

It may come as a surprise to some readers that there have been two relatively unclaimed fields of inquiry about the Civil War. These are military medicine and surgery, and ordnance. Much has now been done, however, to fill the first of these gaps by the publishing of *Doctors in Blue*.

Dr. George Worthington Adams, Dean and Professor of History at Colorado College, has written a medical history of the Union Army which is a pioneer work. *Doctors in Blue* is the first really thorough treatment of the subject. It is partially technical in nature, but when the author introduces something like "scorbutic diathesis" he doesn't leave the reader in the

dark as to its nature. Perhaps even more important is the fact that this book clearly reveals the political as well as the medical ills which beset this nation during the Civil War.

The Civil War paved the way for much advance in civilian and military medicine and surgery. A field hospital and evacuation system (basic through the Second World War) was just one of the now forgotten reforms. Surgery, crude though it usually was, broke ground for the advent of antiseptics. Bitter struggles made these reforms possible—the fight between the “reformers” and the “regulars,” Surgeon-General Hammond’s “Calomel War,” and the Stanton-Hammond feud. Letterman and countless other able doctors come to life in the story as unfolded by Dr. Adams. The Medical Department “regulars” feared the interference of the United States Sanitary Commission and other quasi-civilian agencies, but a well-organized Department was the result.

Dr. Adams has served the general reader and the scholar commendably well. He has made a valuable contribution to our knowledge of the humanitarian side of war. Clearly he has been benefited by the increased interest in medical history, but he has also enriched our understanding of it.

THOMAS M. HUNTER

Pennsylvania State College
State College, Pennsylvania

The Making of Modern English History. By Robert L. Schuyler and Herman Ausubel. New York: The Dryden Press, 1952. Pp. xxii, 384. \$5.00.

During recent years the teacher of English history has been able to use several types of valuable reading materials to supplement the textbook and to give depth as well as breadth to history. The reading selections from the documents and other writing contemporary to the event have long been available. More recently such materials have been organized around great problems and crises of history. Now an additional type of supplementary material has been supplied by Professors Schuyler and Ausubel. This volume, according to the authors’ preface, “consists of seventy essays, most of which appeared originally in American

and British scholarly journals that are for the most part unavailable in the average college library.” Articles, for example, have been selected from the writings of such authorities as Conyers Read and A. F. Pollard on the sixteenth century; from Edwin F. Gay and Clyde L. Grose on the seventeenth century; from John U. Nef and William T. Laprade on the eighteenth century; and from G. M. Trevelyan and William O. Aydelotte on the nineteenth century. The essays of these authorities, to name only a few cover the whole area of English history, cultural and social life, as well as economic and political development. The essays are, in nearly every instance, profoundly conceived and brilliantly written. Their conceptual and provocative qualities will afford a good basis for class discussion. These selected readings will be used by many college teachers; they should be placed in libraries wherever English history and literature are taught.

RAYMOND G. COWHERD

Lehigh University
Bethlehem, Pennsylvania

The Stream of American History. By Leland D. Baldwin. New York: The American Book Company, 1952. Pp. xxix-lx, 952. \$6.00. 2 volumes.

Encyclopedic best describes the new two volume American History, *The Stream of American History*, by Leland D. Baldwin of the University of Pittsburgh. In this two volume text the author has drawn generously from the tributary streams of Sociology and Political Science—so much so that the main stream of American history flows full to its banks. Once in the current the reader becomes conscious of a formidable volume of social science data.

The integrating into the main current of American history the several streams of Sociology, Anthropology, Political Science, Art, Literature and Philosophy is not a new approach. More or less integration of this kind is inevitable. Baldwin has carried this intention to new dimensions. Considering the prodigious scholarship involved in this difficult synthesis the author has done an excellent piece of work, and anyone who is looking for

integrated historical material could hardly find a more complete and satisfying two volumes. An instructor may have to re-select the material to fit a hasty classroom schedule for there is much to cover if the entire two books are to be used.

There are several commendable features which should be mentioned, for they are tributes to Mr. Baldwin's craftsmanship. The two volumes contain a series of graphs and maps which are excellent, as complete as this reviewer has seen. The bibliographical comments are interestingly and tersely handled and will be of particular value to the undergraduate. The history is written in the fresh idiom of contemporary language, more collegiate than academic with just enough journalistic flavor to keep the work from being dull; there is no little humor in the literary imagery.

This new two volume text enters a field in which several firmly established favorites have tended to dominate the field. Comparisons cannot be prevented, but to those who are seeking a broad integrated approach to American History, Leland D. Baldwin's *The Stream of American History* will prove gratifying.

FRED C. STEVENS

Susquehanna University
Selinsgrove, Pa.

World Wars and Revolutions. By Walter Phelps Hall. Third edition, Appleton-Century-Crofts, N. Y. 1952. Pp. 531. \$5.00.

The problems and responsibilities of recording and interpreting contemporary history are well understood by Dr. Hall, who covers the period from 1914 to 1951 in this third edition of his well-known textbook. He has managed to organize the political and military aspects of world history through this difficult period in clear and readable form, using his own interpretations to provide the student with background, and omitting much detail which is often confusing and irrelevant to the understanding of recent history.

The book includes an analysis of the progress and problems of World War One, separate studies of the major European and Asiatic countries in the interim between wars, and four excellent chapters on the strategy and tactics

of World War Two. A comprehensive reading list and well-chosen illustrations and maps add to the usefulness of the book.

The author writes with a refreshing style and with the confidence which comes from judicious analysis of complex problems. The critical state of world affairs in the present day needs this kind of study now, if we are to plan for a better future, or even survive to see it.

FREDERIC S. KLEIN

Franklin and Marshall College
Lancaster, Pennsylvania

HELPFUL CLASSROOM AIDS GENERAL

Free and Inexpensive Learning Materials. Division of Surveys and Field Services, George Peabody College for Teachers, Nashville, 1952. Pp. 194. \$1.00.

This publication is the fifth in the series. It is designed to help the librarian, teacher, and pupil to collect current sources of information. Catalogue of Discussion Aids on the following subjects: Current Problems, History, Government and Economics. Copies free. Write to Special Services Department, 14 West 49th Street, New York 20, N. Y.

PAMPHLETS

Issues. September-October 1952. Prepared by the Philadelphia Housing Association. Copy free. Write to Philadelphia Housing Association, 1717 Sansom Street, Philadelphia 3, Pennsylvania.

Excellent for use in studying the Unit on housing.

Outline and Sources for a History of Western Civilization. By George L. Morse and Philip A. M. Taylor. \$1.85.

Agricultural Cooperatives in Czechoslovakia. By Ladislav Feierabend. Copies free. Write to Mid-European Studies Center, 110 West 57th Street, New York, New York.

We Can Publish Your Manuscript

You can achieve wide recognition and distinctive publication through our outstanding publishing services—including editorial counsel, printing, promotion, and distribution—especially designed for noteworthy books and pamphlets since 1938. Thorough consideration is given to every manuscript. Public Affairs Press, 2153 Florida Ave., Washington 8, D. C.

Race and History. Price 25 cents. Columbia University Press, 2960 Broadway, New York 27, N. Y.

The McCarthy Record. Prepared by Wisconsin Citizens' Committee on McCarthy's Record. Price \$1.00. Anglobooks, 475 Fifth Avenue, New York 17, N. Y.

Improvement in Secondary Education through Group Studies. Eighth Yearbook Prepared by the Pennsylvania Branch National Association Secondary School Principals. Copies \$1.00. Apply to J. E. Nancarrow, Upper Darby High School, Upper Darby, Pennsylvania.

The People vs. Inflation. Parts I and II. By George Katova and Albert Lanterbach. Copies free upon application to the Office of Price Stabilization, Washington 25, D. C.

Our Half Century of Service to Schools. American Education Press, Columbus, Ohio. Copies free.

The Healthy Village: An experiment in Visual Education in West China. Monographs on Fundamental Education—V. The Director-General, Unesco, 19 Avenue Kleber, Paris 16, France. Price 50 cents.

Inter-American Cooperation in Vocational Education. Pan American Union, Room 204, Washington 6, D. C. Price \$1.00.

Asia in the Social Studies Curriculum, by Leonard S. Kenworthy, Brooklyn College, Brooklyn 10, New York. Price 50 cents.

Our American Schools, Prepared by *Scholastic Magazines*, 351 Fourth Avenue, New York 10, New York. Price 1-9 copies—25 cents per copy, 10-99 copies—20 cents per copy. November 7, 1951, Volume 29, Number 8.

The Boy Next Door, by Benjamin F. Fairless. Copies free. Write to J. C. MacDonald, United States Steel Corporation, 71 Broadway, New York City, New York.

ARTICLES

"It Looks as if We All Want Inflation," by John Harriman, *Reader's Digest*, April, 1952.

"Birth of a World Power," *Business Week*, September 27, 1952.

A united Europe in the making.

"Cooperation," by Walter E. Myer, *American Observer*, September 15, 1952.

"Moral Codes," by Walter E. Myer, *American Observer*, October 13, 1952.

"Strength of the Atlantic Community," by W. R. Herod, *The Annals*, July, 1952.

"When Timber Was King in Pennsylvania," by S. K. Stevens, *Pennsylvania History*, Volume xix, Number 4, October, 1952.

CURRENT PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED

The Stream of American History. 2 volumes. By Leland D. Baldwin. New York: American Book Company. 1952. Pp. xxix-lv, 952. \$6.00 each.

The Arab Refugee Problem. By Joseph B. Schechtman. New York: Philosophical Library, 1952. Pp. x, 137. \$3.00.

Race and Culture Relations. By Paul A. F. Walter, Jr. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1952. Pp. xxiv, 481. \$5.50.

Sixty-one Years in the School Room. By Lawrence Hurst. Boston, Massachusetts: Meader Publishing Company, 1952. Pp. xxxiii, 255. \$2.50.

The reader will be amused, informed and challenged by reading this book.

Calling All Citizens. By Robert Rienow. Boston, Massachusetts: Houghton-Mifflin Company, 1952. Pp. xxxv, 690. \$3.12.

Selected Readings in Modern Economics. By Asher Isaacs, C. W. McKee and R. E. Slesinger. New York: The Dryden Press, 1952. Pp. xi, 695. \$3.25.

This book can really be called a dictionary for economics.

Marketing in the American Economy. By Ronald S. Vaile, E. T. Grether and Reavis Cox. New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1952. Pp. xxxiv, 737. \$6.00.

China, Japan and the Powers. By Meribeth E. Cameron, Thomas H. D. Mahoney and George E. McReynolds. New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1952. Pp. xxxii, 682. \$6.50.

Red Dust. Autobiographies of Chinese Communists. As told to Nym Wales. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1952. Pp. vii, 238. \$5.00.

No. 2

ican

ican

by

" by

lume

ED

mea.

ican

\$6.00

n B.

Li-

. F.

Book

By

etts:

Pp.

and

ston,

any,

. By

Slee-

1952.

nary

By

eavis

any,

h E.

and

The

682.

Com-

ford,

1952.